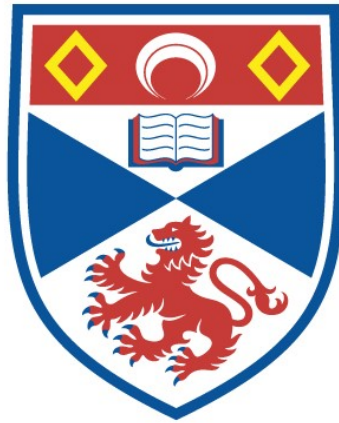


WELSH CONTACTS WITH THE PAPACY BEFORE THE
EDWARDIAN CONQUEST, c. 1283

Bryn Jones

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



2019

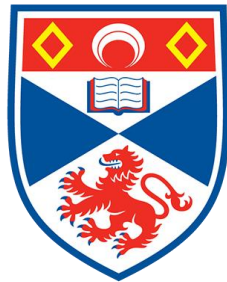
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Welsh contacts with the Papacy before the Edwardian Conquest, c. 1283

Bryn Jones



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)
at the University of St Andrews

June 2019

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to explain the papacy's significance to Welsh polities and the Welsh Church prior to the Edwardian Conquest of Wales. Though there has been little sustained consideration of Wales and the papacy during this period, it has been thought that relations developed significantly after the eleventh century. The written work of Gerald of Wales, documents originating in the papal bureaucracy, Welsh chronicles, law codes, poetry, saints' lives, charters and other administrative documents are used to test the veracity of this claim. The nature of the relationship between Welsh institutions and the papacy and changes in this relationship are also explored. Consideration is given as well to the influence of the papacy on Welsh society. It is hoped that the corpus of evidence identified might be used for further exploration of the history of Wales and the papacy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My foremost thanks must go to my supervisor, Dr. Alex Woolf. Without his sound advice, wisdom and Job-like patience, this thesis would never have been completed. It has been a privilege to be his student.

The financial support of the Saunders Lewis Memorial Fund enabled me to spend two periods in the Vatican Archives researching much of the basis for the second chapter of this thesis.

The Fund's support also allowed me the pleasure of working with the late Professor Emeritus R. G. Gruffydd and Mr Daniel Huws, the former Keeper of Manuscripts at the National Library of Wales. The support of the Fund and the advice given by the late Professor Gruffydd and Mr Huws are gladly acknowledged.

I also thank Dr. Sara Elin Roberts for her help and advice, especially with regards to Medieval Welsh Law. Dr. Owain Wyn Jones and Dr. Georgia Henley were kind enough to allow me to read and use early drafts of their work. The friendship of Dr. Jones, Dr. Matthias Ammon, Ian Hughes, Huw Thomas and Dr. Peredur Webb-Davies were particularly valuable when I found things difficult. I thank all of them.

Finally, I thank my family for their love and encouragement. The support of my siblings, Branwen, Geraint and Lois was invaluable, especially that provided by Branwen and her husband, Alex, in the final stages. Strange though the work of a medievalist has seemed to a historian of the nineteenth century, the support of my wife, Dr. Martyna Jones, has been unwavering and full of understanding. My parents, Bethan and Elwyn, have long encouraged my interest in history and taught me the value of perseverance. My debt to them is immeasurable.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

A	<i>Annales Cambriae: The A-Text</i> , ed. H. Gough-Cooper; P. M. Remfry, trans., <i>Annales Cambriae</i> , pp. 155–62
AoC	R. R. Davies, <i>The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415</i> (Oxford, 2000)
AP	J. Burton and K. Stöber, <i>Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales</i> (Cardiff, 2015)
AWR	<i>The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1120–1283</i> , ed. H. Pryce, with C. Insley (Cardiff, 2005)
B	<i>Annales Cambriae: The B-Text</i> , ed. H. Gough-Cooper; P. M. Remfry, trans., <i>Annales Cambriae</i> , pp. 163–201
BBCS	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i>
<i>Brut</i> (Pen. 20)	T. Jones, ed., <i>Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20</i> (Cardiff, 1941);, translated in T. Jones, trans., <i>Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20</i> (Cardiff, 1952)
<i>Brut</i> (RBH)	T. Jones, ed. and trans., <i>Brut y Tywysogyon: Red Book of Hergest Version</i> (Cardiff, 1955)
BS	T. Jones, ed. and trans., <i>Brenhinedd y Saesson</i> (Cardiff, 1971)
C	<i>Annales Cambriae: The C-Text</i> , ed. H. Gough-Cooper; P. M. Remfry, trans., <i>Annales Cambriae</i> , pp. 202–29.

- Calendar* C. R. Cheney, and M. G. Cheney, eds., *The Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England and Wales: a Calendar* (Oxford, 1967)
- CBT 1 *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a'i Ddisgynyddion*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 1, eds., J. E. C. Williams, P. I. Lynch and R. G. Gruffydd (Cardiff, 1994)
- CBT 2 *Gwaith Llywelyn Fardd I ac eraill o feirdd y ddeuddegfed ganrif*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 2, eds., K. A. Bramley, N. A. Jones, M. E. Owen, C. McKenna, G. A. Williams, and J. E. C. Williams (Cardiff, 1994)
- CBT 3 *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr I*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 3, eds. N. A. Jones and A. P. Owen (Cardiff, 1991)
- CBT 4 *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr II*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 4, eds. N. A. Jones, and A. P. Owen (Cardiff, 1995)
- CBT 5 *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd y Moch'*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 5, eds. E. M. Jones, N. A. Jones (Cardiff, 1991)
- CBT 6 *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras ac eraill o feirdd hanner cyntaf y drydedd ganrif ar ddeg*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 6, eds., N. G. Costigan, R. G. Gruffydd, N. A. Jones, P. I. Lynch, C. McKenna, M. E. Owen and G. A. Williams (Cardiff, 1995)
- CBT 7 *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd a beirdd eraill ail hanner y drydedd ganrif ar ddeg*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 7, eds., Rh. M.

Andrews, N. G. Costigan, C. James, P. I. Lynch, C. McKenna,
M. E., Owen, and B. F. Roberts, (Cardiff, 1996)

CMCS *Cambridge / Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*

Councils A. W. Haddan, and W. Stubbs, eds., *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols. (Oxford 1869–78)

CPR W. H. Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 1: 1198–1304* (London, 1893)

D G. Henley, ed. and trans., *A Welsh-English Hybrid Chronicle in Exeter, Cathedral Library MS 3514* (Unpublished)

Descr. Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Kambriae*

De Jure Gerald of Wales, *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae*

De Reb. Gerald of Wales, *De Rebus a Se Gestis*

E *Annales Cambriae: The E text*, ed. H. Gough-Cooper; P. M. Remfry, trans., *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 230–47

EAWD J. C. Davies, ed., *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066–1272*, 2 vols. (Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1946–48)

EHR *English Historical Review*

Exp. Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*

<i>FEA 7</i>	<i>Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 7, Bath and Wells</i> , ed. D. E. Greenway (London, 2001)
<i>FEA 8</i>	<i>Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 8, Hereford</i> , ed. J. S. Barrow (London, 2002)
<i>FEA 9</i>	<i>Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 9, the Welsh Cathedrals (Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph, St Davids)</i> , ed. M. J. Pearson (London, 2003)
Gemma	Gerald of Wales, <i>Gemma Ecclesiastica</i>
GCO	Gerald of Wales (Giraldi Cambrensis), <i>Opera</i> , ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, 8 vols. (London, Rolls Series, 1861–91)
<i>HoW</i>	J. E. Lloyd, <i>A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest</i> , 2 vols., 3rd ed. (London, 1939)
<i>Instructione</i> - Bartlett	Gerald of Wales, <i>De Principis Instructione (Instruction for a Ruler)</i> , ed. and trans. R. Bartlett, OMT (Oxford, 2018)
Inv.	Gerald of Wales, <i>De Invectionibus</i>
Itin.	Gerald of Wales, <i>Itinerarium Kambriae</i>
<i>LTWL</i>	H. D. Emanuel, ed., <i>The Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws</i> (Cardiff, 1967)

<i>Materials</i>	J. C. Robertson, and J. B. Sheppard, eds., <i>Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury</i> , 7 vols., Rolls Series 67 (London, 1875–85)
<i>MWRL</i>	C. A. McKenna, ed. and trans., <i>The Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric</i> (Belmont, 1991)
<i>NL</i>	H. Pryce, <i>Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales</i> (Oxford, 1993)
<i>NLWJ</i>	<i>National Library of Wales Journal</i>
<i>Original</i>	J. E. Sayers, <i>Original Papal Documents in England and Wales from the Accession of Pope Innocent III to the Death of Pope Benedict XI (1198–1304)</i> (Oxford, 1999)
<i>PH</i>	<i>Pontificia Hibernica</i> , ed. M. P. Sheehy, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1962–65)
<i>Prin.</i>	Gerald of Wales, <i>De Principis Instructione</i>
<i>Reg. Alex. IV</i>	<i>Les registres d’Alexandere IV</i> , eds. C. B. de la Ronciere, J. Loye, P. H. de Cenival and A. Coulon, 3 vols., Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 2 nd ser. xv (Paris 1895–1959)
<i>Reg. Clement IV</i>	<i>Les registres de Clement IV</i> , ed. E. Jordan, Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 2 nd ser. xi (Paris, 1893–1945)

- Reg. Greg. IX *Les registres de Gregoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray, 4 vols.,
Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 2nd
ser. ix (Paris, 1890–1955)
- Reg. Greg. X/ Reg.
John XXI *Les registres de Grégoire X (1272–1276) et de Jean XXI (1276–
1277)*, ed. J. Guiraud and E. Cadier, 2 vols., Bibliothèque des
Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 2nd ser. xii (Paris, 1892–
1960)
- Reg. Hon. III *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. Pietro Pressutti, 2 vols. (Rome,
1888–1895, repr. Hildesheim, 1978)
- Reg. Inn. III, vii *Die Register Innocenz' III., 7. Pontifikatsjahr 1204/1205. Texte
und Indices*, eds Othmar Hageneder, Andrea Sommerlechner,
Herwig Weigl with Christoph Egger and Rainer Murauer,
Publikationen des historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen
Kulturinstituts in Rom, 2. Abt., 1. Reihe, Bd. 7: Texte und
Indices (Vienna, 1997)
- Reg. Inn. III, x *Die Register Innocenz' III., 10. Pontifikatsjahr 1207/1208. Texte
und Indices*, eds R. Murauer and A. Sommerlechner with O.
Hageneder, C. Egger and H. Weigl, Publikationen des
historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in
Rom, 2. Abt., 1. Reihe, Bd. 10: Texte und Indices (Vienna,
2007)

Reg. Inn. IV	<i>Les registres d’Innocent IV</i> , ed. E. Berger, 4 vols., Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 2 nd ser. i (Paris, 1884–1921)
Reg. Martin IV	<i>Les registres de Martin IV (1281–1285)</i> ed. F. Soehnée, G. de Puybaudet, R. Poupardin and F. Olivier–Martin, Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 2 nd ser. xvi (1901–35)
Reg. Urban IV	<i>Les registres d’Urban IV</i> , eds. J. Guiraud, L. Dorez and S. Clemenzt, 4 vols., Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 2 nd ser. xiii (Paris, 1892–1958)
SC	<i>Studia Celtica</i>
Spec. Duorum	Gerald of Wales, <i>Speculum Duorum or A Mirror of Two Men</i> , ed. Y. Lefèvre and R. B. C. Hugyens, trans. B. Dawson and General ed. M. Richter, University of Wales History and Law Series 27 (Cardiff, 1974)
Spec. Eccl.	Gerald of Wales, <i>Speculum Ecclesiae</i>
Symb El.	Gerald of Wales, <i>Symbolum Electorum</i>
Top.	Gerald of Wales, <i>Topographica Hibernica</i>
Vita Galf.	Gerald of Wales, <i>Vita Galfridi Archiepiscopi Eboracensis</i>
Vita Hug.	Gerald of Wales, <i>Vita Sancti Hugonis</i>
Vita Rem.	Gerald of Wales, <i>Vita Sancti Remigii</i>

<i>VSBG</i>	A. W. Wade-Evans, ed. and trans., S. Lloyd, rev. ed., <i>Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae</i> , Studies in Medieval Wales 1 (Cardiff, 2013)
<i>WB</i>	T. M. Charles-Edwards, <i>Wales and the Britons 350–1064</i> (Oxford, 2013)
<i>WCP</i>	Rh. M. Andrews, ed., <i>Welsh Court Poems</i> (Cardiff, 2007)
<i>WHR</i>	<i>Welsh History Review</i>

The spelling conventions of Welsh personal names and place names are those followed by Pryce in *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*.

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INTRODUCTION

This work examines the relationship between Welsh polities and ecclesiastics and the papacy before the Edwardian Conquest of Wales in 1282–83. It is not concerned with Welsh perceptions, uses and knowledge of Ancient Rome during the Medieval period.¹ The corpus of evidence identified here will, it is hoped, be used as the basis for further work and the research presented aspires to go some way to fill a gap in Welsh historiography regarding relations with the papacy during this time.

Medieval historians interested in Wales have tended to concentrate either on internal political and social affairs, relations with the immediate neighbours of the Welsh polities or the fundamental work of editing texts. Given the cultural and historical significance placed upon Welsh poetry, it is surprising that texts of twelfth and thirteenth century poetry edited to modern scholarly standards were not available until the 1990s.² An edition of the acts issued by Welsh rulers did not appear until 2005 and satisfactory texts of the Welsh Latin chronicles in their entirety appeared only during the lifetime of this project.³ Previously, much effort had been spent editing Middle Welsh chronicles, Welsh laws and some Saints Lives to scholarly standard.⁴ This is not to say that there has been no consideration of Welsh affairs and

¹ For overviews of this subject, see P. Russell, *Reading Ovid in Medieval Wales* (Columbus, 2017), pp. 211–21, C. Davies, *Welsh Literature and the Classical Tradition* (Cardiff, 1995), pp. 5–44, *Breudwyt Maxen Wledic*, ed. B. F. Roberts, Medieval and Modern Welsh series 11 (Dublin, 2005), pp. xliii–lxi and pp. lxxvi–xcī.

² *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion*, general ed. R. G. Gruffydd, 7 vols. (Cardiff, 1991–96).

³ H. Pryce with C. Insley, eds., *The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1120–1283* (Cardiff, 2005). Segments of these chronicles had previously been edited and translated by Dumville, for which see *Annales Cambriae, A. D. 682–954: Texts A–C in Parallel*, ed. and trans. D. N. Dumville (Cambridge, 2002). Texts of the Welsh Latin chronicles were edited by Henry Gough-Cooper, and are available to download under the auspices of the Welsh Chronicles Research Group at <http://croniclau.bangor.ac.uk/editions.php.en> (viewed, April 15 2016). Full bibliographical references to each of the five chronicles are given in the bibliography.

⁴ *Brut y Tywysogion: Peniarth MS. 20*, ed. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1941), *Brut y Tywysogion: Peniarth MS. 20*, trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1952), *Brut y Tywysogion: Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1955) and *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, ed. and trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1971); A. Rh. William, ed., *Llyfr Iorwerth* (Cardiff, 1960), A. W. Wade-Evans, ed. and trans., *Welsh Medieval Law* (Oxford, 1909), S. E. Roberts, ed. and trans., *Llawysgrif Pomffred: An Edition and Study of Peniarth MS 259B*, Medieval Law and Its Practice 10 (Leiden, 2011), S. J. Williams, and J. E. Powell, eds., *Llyfr Blegywryd* (Cardiff, 1942), M. Richards, ed., *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda Yn Ôl Llawysgrif Coleg Yr Iesu LVII* (Cardiff, 1990), H. D. Emanuel, ed., *The Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws* (Cardiff, 1967), P. Russell, ed. and trans., *Welsh Law in Medieval Anglesey. British*

developments in a European context. Huw Pryce has discussed the “europeanization” of Welsh society, and both Pryce and Charles Insley have analysed Welsh political and administrative culture in the light of developments elsewhere in Europe.⁵ Additionally, Chris Wickham has considered Wales’ importance to European history.⁶

This being said, with editions of fundamental works missing, it is no wonder that there has been little consideration of the relationships between Wales and the papacy. Some effort has been devoted to this subject, with individual Popes and papal legates appearing in the historiography of medieval Wales, but there has been no sustained analysis of their importance to medieval Welsh politics and ecclesiastics. The paucity of evidence as well as its fragmentary nature must also be emphasised.⁷ However, in these limited analyses, certain themes emerge: travel and pilgrimage to Rome by laymen and ecclesiastics dominate references to the city in early Welsh chronicle entries.⁸ References to pilgrimage are also found in Welsh poetry and in Saints’ lives.

Library, Harleian MS 1796 (Latin C), Texts and Studies in Medieval Welsh Law II (Cambridge, 2011); A. W. Wade-Evans, ed. and trans., S. Lloyd, rev. ed., *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, Studies in Medieval Wales 1 (Cardiff, 2013).

⁵ H. Pryce, ‘Welsh Rulers and European Change, c.1100–1282’, in H. Pryce and J. Watts, eds., *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 37–51, id., ‘Cenedligrwydd a Chymdeithas: Dehongli Oes y Tywysogion’, *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society*, 67 (2006), 12–29, at pp. 22–6, id., ‘Welsh rulers and the written word, 1120–1283’, in P. Thorau, S. Pentth, R. Fuchs, eds., *Regionen Europas - Europa der Regionen: Festschrift für Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke zum 65. Geburtstag* (Cologne, 2003), pp. 65–78, C. Insley, ‘Kings, Lords, Charters and the Political Culture of Twelfth-century Wales’ in C. P. Lewis, ed., *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (2007), pp. 133–53 and id., ‘Imitation and Independence in Native Welsh Administrative Culture, c. 1180–1280’, in D. Crook and L. J. Wilkinson, eds., *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III*, pp. 104–20.

⁶ C. Wickham, ‘Medieval Wales and European History’, *WHR* 25 (2010–11), 201–8.

⁷ There is no evidence, for instance, of Welsh supplications to the papal penitentiary from prior to the fifteenth century. See P. D. Clarke and P. N. R. Zutshi, eds., *Supplications from England and Wales in the Registers of the Apostolic Penitentiary, 1410–1503*, 3 vols. (Woodbridge, 2012–15), I, p. xx and P. D. Clarke, ‘Central authority and local powers: the apostolic penitentiary and the English church in the fifteenth century’, *Historical Research*, 84 (2011), 416–42.

⁸ See for instance K. K. Olson, “‘Ar ffordd Pedr a Phawl’: Welsh Pilgrimage and Travel to Rome, c.1200–c.1530”, *WHR* 24.2 (2008–09), 1–40 and O. W. Jones, ‘*Hereditas Pouoisi*: The Pillar of Eliseg and the History of Early Powys’, *WHR* 24.4 (2008–09), 41–80.

Much attention has been paid to the journey of Hywel ap Cadell of Deheubarth (also known as “Hywel Dda”, Hywel the Good) to Rome, recorded by several Welsh chronicles as occurring c. 928.⁹ Hywel’s demonstrable journey took on greater significance in the prologues of law texts from the thirteenth century, where it is claimed that Hywel had taken the laws of Wales, revised by him in accordance with the advice of wise clerics and laymen, to be blessed by the Pope.¹⁰ There is no evidence beyond these prologues to associate Hywel with a revision of Welsh law, let alone that he took laws with him to be blessed by the Pope.¹¹ It seems more likely that Hywel’s tale was included to deflect contemporary criticisms of the law, perhaps most notably from John Pecham (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1279–92) and especially regarding hereditary rights.¹²

Another pilgrim to Rome was Gerald of Wales, although he is best remembered not for his pilgrimage to Rome c. 1207, but for his campaign to raise St Davids to metropolitan status and for ratification of his election as bishop of St Davids. Gerald travelled to Rome three times for his campaign, often appearing in public and in some private meetings with Innocent III (1198–1216). At the same time, Gerald sought approval for the cult of Caradog Fynach, a hermit who had lived in the diocese of St Davids. Before he began his campaign, Gerald had acted as an agent of the papacy after being appointed by Richard of Dover, Archbishop of Canterbury and papal legate. Gerald concentrated on collecting tithes and imposing clerical celibacy. Elsewhere in his writing, Gerald demonstrates an interest in the papacy’s history.

⁹ *Brut (RBH)* 929 (pp. 12–13), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 8; 929, p. 6), *BS* 929 (pp. 30–1), Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, 928, pp. 16–17.

¹⁰ M. E. Owen, ‘Royal Propaganda: Stories from the Law-Texts’, in T. M. Charles-Edwards, M. E. Owen and P. Russell, eds., *The Welsh King and his Court* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 224–254 at pp. 246–8

¹¹ H. Pryce, ‘The Prologues to the Welsh Lawbooks’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 33 (1986), 151–87

¹² D. Jenkins, trans., *The Law of Hywel Dda: Law Texts from Medieval Wales*, Welsh Classics 2 (Llandysul, 1986), p. xxii, R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 367–8, H. Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales* (Oxford, 1993), p. 13.

Gerald's was not the first appeal from a Welsh see to the Curia. Bishop Urban of Llandaff (1107–1134) had appealed to the papacy in a bid to expand the boundaries of his see earlier in the twelfth century. After Gerald's time we see several trivial appeals from Welsh ecclesiastics for permission to hold additional benefices. Secular leaders also appealed to the papacy: Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d. 1282) appealed for the release of his wife Eleanor de Montfort from captivity by Edward I (1272–1307) whilst his grandfather Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (d. 1240) had appealed for permission and subsequently disapproval of his proposed marriage to a princess of the Isle of Man.¹³

Llywelyn ap Iorwerth had also sought approval from the papacy of his arrangements for the succession of Dafydd, his son by his wife Joan, over Gruffudd his natural son by Tangwystl.¹⁴ Similarly, Richard Carew (Bishop of St Davids, 1256–80) sought approval from Alexander IV (1254–61) for an ordinance of vestments at St Davids.¹⁵ Several religious institutions in Wales and beyond sought confirmation from the papacy for land held in Wales. Such confirmations were utilised for Latin phrases for secular magnates' grants such as the grant of Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth (d. 1197) to the abbey of Strata Florida.¹⁶ Richard Carew, like Gerald, carried out work on the papacy's behalf, being empowered to preach the crusade.¹⁷ Welsh ecclesiastics might be asked to conduct inquiries: Hywel, (Bishop of St Asaph, 1233–40), was asked to inquire into the dispute between Margaret de Lacey and her foundation at Aconbury, Herefordshire while the Abbots of Cymer and Aberconwy were instructed to inquire into Henry III's apparent abuse of Dafydd ap Llywelyn's rights.¹⁸ Equally, officials might be charged with overseeing instructions given by

¹³ Chapter 2, pp. 89–90 and pp. 82–3.

¹⁴ Chapter 2, pp. 84–5.

¹⁵ Chapter 2, pp. 69–70.

¹⁶ Chapter 3, pp. 113–15.

¹⁷ Chapter 2, pp. 80–1.

¹⁸ Chapter 2, p. 82 and pp. 87–8.

a Pope such as when the prior of Llanthony Prima was mandated to ensure that the Dominicans did not establish themselves within Hereford so that other ecclesiastical institutions were not impoverished.¹⁹

Welsh chronicles, perhaps reflecting the Cistercian milieu in which they were written, also begin to take a greater interest in papal affairs. Whilst the early entries were devoted to pilgrimages, later we are given notice of papal succession, the summoning of Church councils and the activities of papal legates.²⁰ The legate Pandulf provided William of Goldcliff for the vacant see of Llandaff whilst the most remarked upon contribution was that of the legate Ottobuono.²¹ He was appointed by Clement IV (1264–68), his immediate predecessor as legate, with explicit instructions to bring peace to the realm following the second barons war. In this capacity, he conducted negotiations between Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and Henry III, leading to the Treaty of Montgomery of 1267. This recognised Llywelyn's status, granting him the title "Prince of Wales" but ultimately proved to be his undoing when a conflicting understanding of the relationship between the Crown of England and the prince, allied with Llywelyn's difficulties in meeting his financial obligations under the treaty, came to the fore in the 1270s.²²

Documents containing financial information and issued as a result of papal directives also mention Welsh churches. These include the Valuation of Norwich (1252–54) and documents from the *collectoriae*, the accounts and records of taxes and annates collected in the papacy's name, of the Vatican Archives.²³ These documents describe the Welsh Church's economic

¹⁹ Chapter 2, pp. 79–80.

²⁰ Chapter 3, pp. 97–112.

²¹ Chapter 2, p. 62 and Chapter 3, p. 108.

²² Chapter 3, pp. 120–21.

²³ W. E. Lunt, ed., *The Valuation of Norwich* (Oxford, 1926); L. E. Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Toronto, 1972, rev. ed. 2001), pp. 165–8, L. MacFarlane, 'The Vatican Archives',

standing, confirming its poverty in relation to English dioceses and indicating some problems associated with collecting taxes in Wales.

These examples give a flavour of the papacy's influence on life in Wales during the period under consideration. In one of only two pieces which may be described in any way as sustained considerations of papal influence in Welsh affairs, R. R. Davies described Welsh relations with the papacy thus:

“In the eleventh century, Rome was no more than a distant shrine, a pilgrimage centre. Its ultimate authority over the church in Wales was recognized; but that authority barely impinged in a practical fashion on the country. As in so many other spheres, it was the first half of the twelfth century which witnessed the transformation... Unity with, and conformity to, international standards were increasingly the hallmarks of the Welsh church.”²⁴

Glanmor Williams reached similar conclusions in his introduction to the pre-conquest Welsh Church, stressing the correlation between the development of government and the manifestation of papal power in Welsh polities, stressing that “as the papacy evolved more intricate central and local machinery for governing the Church, so the Welsh dioceses, remote as they had previously been, were brought more firmly within its orbit.”²⁵

It is in consideration of these assessments that we shall move forward. In chapter 1 I shall discuss the numerous references to the papacy in the work of Gerald of Wales. Gerald refers frequently to the papacy, appealing to its history, treating the words of different Popes

Archives 4 (1959), 29–44, 84–101, p. 41 and W. E. Lunt, ‘A Papal tenth levied in the British Isles from 1274–1280’, *EHR*, 32 (1917), 49–89.

²⁴ *AoC*, p. 191 and p. 194; discussion of the papacy and Wales is found in *ibid.*, pp. 190–4.

²⁵ G. Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, rev ed. (Cardiff, 1976), p. 30; the wider discussion is found in *ibid.*, pp. 29–31.

regarding, for instance, liturgical matters as authoritative and describing his own interactions with the papacy. These are used to explain Gerald's importance to our understanding of the papacy's role in medieval Wales. In chapter 2, I shall consider documents which ultimately originated in the Papal Curia, using them to discuss the interaction between the papacy and Welsh ecclesiastics and magnates. In chapters 3 and 4, I shall discuss the reception of the papacy and papal instruction in Welsh sources, examining Welsh chronicles, charters, letters patent, agreements, treaties, letters, lawcodes, poetry and saints' lives.

CHAPTER 1: GERALD OF WALES AND THE PAPACY

The details of Gerald's life and career are well known, but worth recounting briefly.¹ Born in the castle of Manorbier to a prominent Marcher family around 1146, he was educated at St Davids, St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester and later spent three extended periods studying in Paris.² He was appointed to the archdeaconry of Brecon by his uncle David fitz Gerald (Bishop of St Davids, 1148–76)³ before being made a royal clerk.⁴ He was twice nominated Bishop of St Davids and spent much of the period 1198–1203 attempting to have the second nomination confirmed and the see raised to metropolitan status.⁵ After his efforts failed, he retired from public life to concentrate on writing. He died c. 1223.

Gerald was a prolific author, writing historical works, ethnographies, hagiographies, polemics and autobiography.⁶ This chapter assesses the papacy's role in Gerald's writings. It first examines the place of the papacy in Gerald's works and then discusses his encounters with Innocent III (1198–1216) and the Curia during the dispute and its aftermath.

¹ Details of Gerald's life, career and literary output are found in several places. The most detailed reconstruction is J. C. Davies, 'Giraldus Cambrensis 1146–1946', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 99 (1946–7), 85–108 and 256–80, whilst M. Richter, *Giraldus Cambrensis: The Growth of the Welsh Nation*, 2nd ed. (Aberystwyth, 1976) gives a more concise overview at pp. 4–12. Robert Bartlett advanced the understanding of Gerald's work enormously in his *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 2006). Brynley Roberts gives a very valuable overview of Gerald's life and work in B. F. Roberts, *Gerald of Wales* (Cardiff, 1982). All of these studies, combined with the other references on specific points, contributed to the information in this passage.

² H. Pryce, 'A Cross-border Career: Giraldus Cambrensis between Wales and England' in R. Schneider, ed., *Grenzgänger* (Saarbrücken, 1998), pp. 45–60, at pp. 46–7.

³ On David fitz Gerald see J. W. Evans, 'The Bishops of St Davids from Bernard to Bec', in R. F. Walker, ed., *Medieval Pembrokeshire*, Pembrokeshire County History II (Haverfordwest, 2002), pp. 270–311, at pp. 277–82.

⁴ Roberts, *Gerald*, p. 16. Gerald seems to have become a clerk as an adviser to Henry II (1154–1189) on Welsh affairs during a turbulent time in the relationship between the King and Lord Rhys of Deheubarth (d. 1197). See J. Gillingham, 'Henry II, Richard I and the Lord Rhys' in J. Gillingham *The English in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2000), 59–68, at p. 64 and Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 24–5. On Gerald's early career see also H. Pryce, 'Gerald's Journey through Wales', *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History* 6 (1989), 17–34, at pp. 19–20.

⁵ See Davies, 'Giraldus', pp. 96–8, pp. 106–8 and pp. 256–8.

⁶ All of Gerald's then known works were edited as part of the Rolls Series. At that time, it had not been realised that Gerald's *Speculum Duorum* had survived. All references are given to this series unless the work has been superseded by more recent editions. Gerald of Wales (Giraldi Cambrensis), *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, 8 vols., Rolls Series 21 (London, 1861–91).

The papacy and its agents appear several times in Gerald's writings, including recent events and actions, appeals to pseudo history, quotations from papal writings and the reproduction of apparently genuine papal letters. The *Itinerarium Kambriae* contains several types of references to the papacy which are typical of Gerald's works.⁷ The third recension of this text, completed c. 1214, opens with Urban III (1185–87) at the head of a list of Europe's rulers at that time.⁸ Despite the factual inaccuracy of Gerald's statement- Clement III (1187–91) was Pope at the time of Gerald's journey through Wales- it is interesting to note the pre-eminence Gerald accords the papacy. The list is highly structured, with precedence given to the Holy Roman and Byzantine Emperors over the Kings of France, England, Sicily, Hungary and Palestine. Gerald employs a similar device elsewhere in his work. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* records the death of Thomas Becket in relation to the reigns of Alexander III (1159–81), Frederick the Holy Roman Emperor (1155–90) and Louis VII of France (1137–80), a passage repeated in *De Principis Instructione*.⁹ This is but one of many instances where Gerald refers to earlier examples of his work. In her analysis of this "self quotation" in *Itinerarium Kambriae*, Henley suggests that part of Gerald's reason for this was to "[position] himself as an authority on the same level of expertise as the other authorities he cites." It seems certain that this may be applied to Gerald's other works as well.¹⁰ Elsewhere in the *Expugnatio* Prince John's arrival in Ireland is marked by reference to the papacy of Lucius III (1181–85) and the reigns of Emperor Frederick and Philip II of France (1180–1223).¹¹ Gerald

⁷ On this text see Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 64 and Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 81–4.

⁸ Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae* I.1, (GCO vi.13, Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 74).

⁹ Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, I.20 (Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica / The Conquest of Ireland*, ed. and trans. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin, New History of Ireland Ancillary Publications 3 (Dublin, 1978), pp. 74–5). Exactly the same pattern is used to mark Henry II's arrival in Waterford a year later. Exp. I.30 (*Expugnatio*, pp. 92–3). On this text see Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 24–8 and Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 68–77. Gerald of Wales, *De Principis Instructione*, II.3 (Gerald of Wales, *De Principis Instructione (Instruction for a Ruler)*, ed. and trans. R. Bartlett, OMT (Oxford, 2018), pp. 452–3, GCO viii.162, Gerald of Wales, *Concerning the Instruction of Princes*, trans. J. Stevenson (London, 1858, reprinted Felinfach, 1991), p. 15).

¹⁰ G. Henley, 'Quotation, Revision, and Narrative Structure in Giraldus Cambrensis's *Itinerarium Kambriae*', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 24 (2014), 1–52, at pp. 46–50.

¹¹ Exp. II.32 (*Expugnatio*, pp. 228–9).

further deploys the device in his *Vita* of St. Hugh of Avalon, where the saint's death is recorded by mention of Innocent III as Pope, Philip as King of France and John as King of England (1199–1216).¹² In each case the Pope always appears first, demonstrating Gerald's regard for the institution and the precedence it ought to take over secular powers.

Gerald frequently records the actions of the papacy and its agents. Some Popes are merely mentioned in passing. In the first division of *De Principis Instructione* for instance, where Gerald gives a history of Christianity, Adrian I (772–95) seeks Charlemagne's help against the Lombards whilst Gerald also records the crowning of Charlemagne by Leo III (795–816).¹³ Closer to Gerald's own time, Alexander III is mentioned as a benefactor of the Templars, Hospitallers and Cistercians and has having called a council in Tours.¹⁴ Gerald mentions that David, the then Bishop of St Davids and Gerald's uncle, had raised a levy from his clergy so that he could attend, although the bishop seems not to have attended the council.¹⁵ Adrian IV (1154–59) is recorded granting privileges to the monks of St Albans.¹⁶ In Gerald's *Vita* of Geoffrey, Archbishop of York (1191–1212), Richard I (1189–99) sends a

¹² Gerald of Wales, *Vita Sancti Hugonis*, I.11, (Gerald of Wales, *The Life of St. Hugh of Avalon Bishop of Lincoln 1186–1200*, ed. and trans. R. M. Loomis, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Series A, 31 (New York, 1985), §56, pp. 36–7). On this text see *ibid.* pp. xlii–l and P. Raleigh, 'Fere tyrannicus: Royal Tyranny and the Construction of Episcopal Sanctity in Gerald of Wales's *Vita Sancti Hugonis*' in, in G. Henley, and A. J. McMullen, eds., *Gerald of Wales: New Perspectives on a Medieval Writer and Critic* (Cardiff, 2018), pp. 165–82.

¹³ Prin., I.17 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 226–31, GCO viii.72–75). The same work also contains an accurate list of Popes from Gregory IV (827–44) to Nicholas I (858–67) (Prin., I.18 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 314–5, GCO viii.102)). For an analysis of this text see *Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. xiii–lvi, Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 62–86 and Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 54–9.

¹⁴ Gerald of Wales, *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae*, II (GCO iii.155); Gerald of Wales, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, III.12 (GCO iv.205).

¹⁵ R. Somerville, *Pope Alexander III and the Council of Tours (1163)* (Berkeley, 1973), pp. 24–25 and references. Gerald, claiming that this was the only time that his uncle had asked for money from his clergy, used his uncle's example to admonish Geoffrey of Henlaw (Bishop of St Davids 1203–14) for being overly demanding of money from his clergy. Gerald of Wales, *Speculum Duorum or A Mirror of Two Men*, ed. Y. Lefèvre and R. B. C. Huyens, trans. B. Dawson and general ed. M. Richter (Cardiff, 1974), Letter 8.90–112 (pp. 266–9) and p. xlviii. On the career of Geoffrey, see Evans, 'Bishops', pp. 289–90.

¹⁶ Spec. Eccl., II.30 (GCO iv.94–6 and Gerald of Wales, 'Speculum Ecclesiae, li.30', ed. and trans. in B. Bolton and A. J. Duggan, eds., *Adrian IV The English Pope (1154–1159): Studies and Texts* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 280–3, p. 282).

delegation to the Curia to obstruct the election of Geoffrey, his brother, as the archbishop.¹⁷

Elsewhere, Gerald mentions the interdict placed on England.¹⁸ In each case, the papacy is seen as a powerful institution.

Twice we see the guidance of papal legates at Irish councils. Gerald describes the diocesan reform enacted under the instruction of the papal legate John Paparo and other reforms proclaimed at the Council of Cashel through the auspices of the Bishop of Lismore.¹⁹ A cardinal legate convenes a Church council in London²⁰ whilst two other cardinals are sent to inquire into the death of Thomas Becket by Alexander III.²¹ Both this Pope and Becket are further associated when Gerald compares his own virtues with the latter, as both stood up to tyrants for the Church's dignity.²² One of these cardinals, Vivian, is later seen serving in Ireland where he summoned a synod to discuss the Pope's confirmation of the king of England's rights over Ireland.²³ Gerald himself received benefit from the papal legate John of Anagni, who absolved him from the need to go on crusade.²⁴ We see the personal actions of

¹⁷ Gerald of Wales, *Vita Galfridi Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, I.10 (GCO iv.381). On this text see *English Episcopal Acta 27: York 1189–1212*, ed. M. Lovatt (Oxford, 2004), pp. cxxxv–cxxxviii, Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 58–9, Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 86 and Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 33–4.

¹⁸ Vita Hug., II.13 and III.1 (*Life of St. Hugh*, §85, pp. 64–5 and §90, pp. 68–9). For the Interdict and its resolution see C. R. Cheney, *Innocent III and England*, Ppste und Papsttum 9 (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 303–26 and P. Webster, *King John and Religion*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 43 (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 131–72.

¹⁹ Gerald of Wales, *Topographica Hibernica*, III.96 (GCO v.162–3), Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. J. J. O'Mera (Harmondsworth, 1982), p. 105. On this text see Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 77–80. On Paparo, see M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 36–7; Prin., II.20 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp.514–5, GCO viii.198, *Instruction*, p. 39) and Exp., I.34–35 (*Expugnatio*, pp. 96–101). See also Roberts, *Gerald*, p. 69.

²⁰ On this council, see below, p. 26.

²¹ Prin., II.6 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 466–7, GCO viii.169, *Instruction*, p. 20) and Exp., I.37, I.39 and II.31 (*Expugnatio*, pp. 102–5, pp. 108–9 and pp. 220–1). On the identity of these legates see A. J. Duggan, 'Henry II, the English Church and the Papacy, 1154–76' in C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent, eds., *Henry II: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 154–83 at p. 175, n. 2.

²² Gerald of Wales, *De Invectionibus*, V.16 (Gerald of Wales, *De Invectionibus* ed. W. S. Davies, *Y Cymmrodor* 30 (1920), pp. 195–6).

²³ Exp., II.17 and II.19 (*Expugnatio*, pp. 174–5 and pp. 180–3).

²⁴ Gerald of Wales, *De Rebus a Se Gestis* II.22 (GCO i.84–5 and Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler, (London, 1937, reprinted Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 116–17). See also Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 105 and Pryce, 'Journey', pp. 27–8. Following a change in papal policy, Gerald was forced to take the cross again so that he could pursue the matter of St Davids and his election without being excommunicated, but he was absolved of this necessity by Innocent III himself. See Inv., III.18 (*Invectionibus*,

individual Popes as well, with the consecration of John Cumin as Archbishop of Dublin by Lucius III and Gerald recording the event of the Third Lateran Council.²⁵ In every instance the papacy is seen as an institution capable of expressing its jurisdiction.

Gerald made further use of the latter council in his writings. In a long letter to the chapter of St Davids, he complains over how he has been wronged by Bishop Geoffrey of Henlaw, whom he accuses of allowing unjustifiable charges to be levied.²⁶ This, Gerald alleged, was against the express wish of the Lateran Council.²⁷ It was a serious charge, but one of many used to assault Bishop Geoffrey's reputation and later extended to others in Wales.²⁸ In a further letter of complaint, this time written to the bishop himself, Gerald complains that he is acting contrary to the decretals of Alexander III regarding the revenues of vacant churches.²⁹ Gerald clearly saw being in breach of a Pope's instruction as a serious matter.

Gerald used a further reference to the Lateran Council and Alexander III to promote himself. He describes the departure of his former teacher Matthew of Anjou from Paris for the Council, having been summoned by Alexander III to be made a cardinal. Before leaving, Matthew suggested that Gerald should replace him as teacher.³⁰ The implication is that if somebody is fit to be made a cardinal in the Pope's eyes, his advice should be heeded.³¹

pp.158–9), *De Jure*, V (GCO iii.284–6), J. C. Davies, ed., *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066–1272*, 2 vols. (Cardiff, 1946–48), i, D.367 and C. R. Cheney and M. G. Cheney, eds., *The Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England and Wales: a Calendar* (Oxford, 1967), 488. See also Cheney, *Innocent III*, p. 255 and K. Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades c. 1095–1291*, *Studies in Welsh History* 33 (Cardiff, 2011), pp. 83–4. Gerald also mentions some of this legate's activities in his *Vita* of Geoffrey, Archbishop of York. See *Vita Galf.*, I.8 (GCO iv.376–7).

²⁵ *Exp.*, II.24 (*Expugnatio*, pp. 196–9); *Exp.*, II.20 (*Expugnatio*, pp. 186–7).

²⁶ Gerald of Wales, *Symbolum Electorum*, XXXI (GCO i.323–4).

²⁷ Gerald must be referring to Canon 4 of this council. For the Canons of this council, see N. P. Tanner, ed. and trans., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London and Georgetown, 1990), pp. 23–25 and pp. 213–14.

²⁸ *De Jure*, I (GCO iii.141–2).

²⁹ *Spec. Duorum*, Letter 6.109–15 (pp. 214–15) and p. xlv, n. 109.

³⁰ *De Reb.*, II.2 (GCO i.48, *Autobiography*, p. 67).

³¹ In an attempt at modesty Gerald refused the students' overtures but later relented and lectured twice a day. *De Reb.*, II.2 (GCO i.48 and *Autobiography*, pp. 67–8).

Gerald turned to the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) in his *Speculum Ecclesiae*.³² In his old age, he sought to draw attention to abuses within the Church, seemingly composing this text prior to the council, but later revising it to reflect its proceedings.³³ Gerald's primary concerns in relation to the council were the securing of funding for the Curia and through it secure reform of the monastic orders. Gerald had been aware of the difficulty of funding the Curia for a long time and argued that the collection of Peter's Pence from Wales and the introduction of a "great tithe" (*magnum decimam*) would be two advantages to the Roman Church of raising St Davids to metropolitan status.³⁴

Gerald also appeals to what modern scholarship might consider pseudo history. He describes how the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V (1111–25) was buried at Chester, having died there whilst atoning for his sins after conflict with Paschal II (1099–1118).³⁵ The idea of Henry V as a penitent sinner appears to have become a trope by Gerald's time. No contemporary Anglo-Norman chronicler mentions Henry in such a manner, and they are, if anything, complimentary about him, with William of Malmesbury making a direct comparison between the respective abilities of Henry V and Callixtus II (1119–24).³⁶ Gerald also refers to Faganus and Duvianus, two missionaries supposedly sent by Pope Eleutherius to convert the

³² For Gerald on the council see Spec. Eccl., II.29, III.1, IV.19 (GCO iv.93–4, 138–9, 304–5) and R. Kay, 'Gerald of Wales and the Fourth Lateran Council', *Viator* 29 (1998), 79–93, at pp. 79–85.

³³ Kay, 'Fourth Lateran', pp. 85–90.

³⁴ De Jure, II (GCO iii.178, *Autobiography*, pp. 187–8), Inv., II.5 and V.2 (*Invectionibus*, p. 139 and p. 167). On the payment of Peter's Pence in Wales see Chapter 2, p. 94, n. 258. He had previously discussed the giving of a "great tithe" by Welsh people on significant occasions in *Descriptio Kambriae*. See Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Kambriae*, I.18 (GCO vi.203, *Journey*, p. 253).

³⁵ Itin. II.11 (GCO vi.139–40, *Journey*, pp. 198–9), Prin., III.27 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 686–7, GCO viii.300, *Instruction*, p. 97) and Inv., Vi.26 (*Invectionibus*, p. 231). Henry V died at Utrecht and is buried at Speyer Cathedral. See H. Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages*, trans. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1986), p. 94 and M. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 39–40 and p. 42.

³⁶ *Instructione* - Bartlett, p. 687, n. 302 and the references found there, A. Thacker, 'The cult of king Harold at Chester', in T. Scott and P. Starkey, *The Middle Ages in the North-West* (Oxford, 1995), 155–76, at pp. 165–6 and William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, 2 vols., (Oxford, 2006–7), I.V.278.3–4 (pp. 662–3).

Britons.³⁷ In both cases the papacy is shown to wield great authority, with Henry V becoming penitent having been bested by the Pope whilst the missionaries were operating with the papacy's blessing. Whereas the references to Henry V's burial or to the missionaries might have been recognised by contemporaries as pseudo-history, a third reference, to the forged 'Donation of Constantine' would have been unlikely to raise eyebrows at this date, since it was debunked only centuries later.³⁸ This forgery draws on the fifth-century Legend of Silvester in which Emperor Constantine granted privileges and lands, including all islands, in the western empire to the papacy.³⁹ In Gerald's works, Pope Silvester, and by implication his successors, are shown ruling a wide dominion and so being in a position of power. The frequent references to the tale were also used by Gerald as a means of explaining how corruption was introduced to the Church.⁴⁰

As befits one who lectured on papal decretals in Paris, Gerald frequently quotes various Popes.⁴¹ Sometimes these quotations are on explicitly practical matters for churchmen.

Gemma Ecclesiastica in particular is full of such references.⁴² Gerald quotes Clement I (92–99) when discussing the maintenance of implements used for mass and how to treat them when they wear out.⁴³ Gerald refers to Urban II (1088–99) when discussing priests' authority

³⁷ Descr. I.18 (GCO vi.202, *Journey*, p. 253). For the setting of this text against its intellectual background see Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 147–71, and see also Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 62–3 and Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 87–9.

³⁸ It was debunked by the humanists Lorenzo Valla and Nicholas of Cusa. W. Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (London. 2003), p. 36, p. 77 and p. 317.

³⁹ On the donation's importance to the papacy's self-image see F. Pomarici, 'Papal Imagery and Propaganda: Art, Architecture, and Liturgy', in A. A. Larson and K. Sisson, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 70 (Leiden, 2016), pp. 82–120, at pp. 88–91.

⁴⁰ Gerald of Wales, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, II.6 and II.38 (GCO ii.189 and 360, Gerald of Wales, *The Jewel of the Church*, trans. J. J. Hagen, Davis Medieval Texts and Studies 2 (Leiden, 1979), p. 146 and pp. 274–5), Spec. Eccl., IV.39 (GCO iv.350–1), Descr. II.7 (GCO vi.215, *Journey*, p. 264), Prin., I.8 and I.18 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 102–3 and pp. 282–7, GCO viii.28 and 87), Inv., VI.27 (*Invectionibus*, p. 234).

⁴¹ Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 89 and Spec. *Duorum*, p. liii.

⁴² On this text see Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 32–4, Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 34–7 and S. LaVere, '“A Priest Is Not a Free Person”: Condemning Clerical Sins and Upholding Higher Moral Standards in the *Gemma ecclesiastica*' in G. Henley, and A. J. McMullen, eds., *Gerald of Wales: New Perspectives on a Medieval Writer and Critic* (Cardiff, 2018), pp. 183–202. On some of the Welsh stories in this work see D. Walker, 'Gerald of Wales', *Brycheiniog* 18 (1978–79), 60–70, p. 68.

⁴³ *Gemma*, I.10 (GCO ii.35–6, *Jewel*, pp. 29–30) and Spec. Eccl., IV.29 (GCO iv.331–2).

to hear the confession of someone under another bishop's pastoral care, and to Fabian (236–50) and Gelasius I (492–96) on the frequency with which the faithful should receive the Eucharist.⁴⁴ He quotes Popes when discussing the administration of other sacraments, such as his discussions on the reception of the last rites. He refers to Innocent I (401–17), Leo I (440–61), and Julius I (337–52) when discussing this topic.⁴⁵ The frequency with which Gerald quotes Popes reflects the work of Peter the Chanter to whose *Verbum Abbreviatum* Gerald was indebted.⁴⁶ The words of each Pope are treated with reverence and regarded as authoritative.

Such was Gerald's regard for papal authority and jurisdiction that he felt that the papacy should deal with curious problems. In the *Topographia Hibernica* Gerald relates how a priest performed the last rites on a female werewolf.⁴⁷ In response to a bishop uncertain what to do about the situation, Gerald suggests compiling accounts of the incident to send to the Pope for guidance. Beyond the obvious point concerning the existence of werewolves, Carey questions the reliability of Gerald's tale as there was no synod in Meath in 1185 (the approximate date gleaned from Gerald's statements in the *Topographia*), and as there is no record of any documentation being sent to Rome, concluding that Gerald's story is indicative of it being an

⁴⁴ Gemma, I.36 (GCO ii.111, *Jewel*, p. 85); Gemma, I.41 (GCO ii.117–18, *Jewel*, p. 90). Gerald quotes Gelasius on several other occasions, for instance discussing the consequences of sin. See Symb El., XXI (GCO i.254) and Spec. Eccl., II.31 (GCO iv.98).

⁴⁵ Gemma, I.2 (GCO ii.14, *Jewel*, p. 12); Gemma, I.39 (GCO ii.115, *Jewel*, pp. 88–9); Gemma, I.40 (GCO ii.115–16, *Jewel*, p. 89). Not all of Gerald's quotations are relevant to serious issues within the Church. Gerald, perhaps reflecting on the experience of his own life, quoted Alexander III several times: "God denies children to bishops, but the devil gives them nephews". Gemma, II.27 (GCO ii.304, *Jewel*, p. 230), Gerald of Wales, *Vita Sancti Remigii*, XXVIII (GCO vii.66), and Spec. Duorum, II.1241–45 (pp. 148–9).

⁴⁶ Gerald's extensive borrowing from *Verbum Abbreviatum* caused Sanford to remark that Gerald would today "incur the charge of plagiarism". E. M. Sanford, 'Giraldus Cambrensis debt to Petrus Cantor', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 3 (1946), 16–32 and see also Bartlett, *Gerald*, p. 32, and Henley, 'Quotation', pp. 8–9.

⁴⁷ Top., II.52 (GCO v.101–4, *Topography*, pp. 69–72) and Exp., II.23 (*Expugnatio*, pp. 194–5). On narratives concerning werewolves in medieval Ireland see J. Carey, 'Werewolves in Medieval Ireland', *CMCS* 44 (Winter, 2002), 36–72, and on the wider intellectual background see C. W. Bynum, 'Metamorphosis, or Gerald and the Werewolf', *Speculum* 73 (1998), 987–1013, and especially pp. 1010–12 on the contribution made by Gerald's story.

“urban legend”.⁴⁸ Regardless of this, Gerald’s opinion of papal authority is clear. If there was any doubt about correct procedure, then Gerald’s view is that the papacy’s advice could always be sought, no matter how odd the situation.

This is also true of the papal letters quoted at length by Gerald. The best known is the controversial papal bull *Laudabiliter* issued by Adrian IV in 1155.⁴⁹ This bull, in conjunction with a later proclamation (*Quoniam ea*) attributed to Alexander III, was used to justify invading Ireland.⁵⁰ Gerald also includes several letters concerned with the crusade and another letter on the Crown’s right to rule, which Gerald explicitly links to the Welsh in his rubric.⁵¹ Gerald is our only source for the latter letter and it is undatable beyond having been issued during the pontificate of Alexander III.⁵² The letter describes England’s importance to Christendom, with particular mention of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the crusading orders and Alexander reassures Henry II that the pope cares for the unity and peace of his realm, and that any who rebel against his rule should be excommunicated unless they return to the king’s peace. There is no mention of Wales in the letter, and though Vincent is dismissive of

⁴⁸ Carey, ‘Werewolves’, pp. 48–50.

⁴⁹ The bull is reproduced several times by Gerald see De Reb., II.11 (GCO i.62–3), Prin., II.19 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 510–13, GCO viii.196–7, *Instruction*, pp. 37–8) and Exp., II.5 (*Expugnatio*, pp. 144–7). On these copies see A. J. Duggan, ‘The Making of a Myth: Giraldus Cambrensis, *Laudabiliter*, and Henry II’s Lordship of Ireland’, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, Third Series, volume 4 (2007), 107–70, at pp. 109–14. On the authenticity of this document and Gerald’s purpose in its inclusion see Idem., pp. 131–43, ead., ‘*Totus christianis caput*. The Pope and the Princes’ in B. Bolton and A. J. Duggan, eds., *Adrian IV The English Pope (1154–1159): Studies and Texts* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 105–55, at pp. 138–52, ead., ‘The Power of Documents: The curious case of *Laudabiliter*’, in B. Bolton and C. Meek, eds., *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, International Medieval Research 14 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 251–75, M. Haren, ‘*Laudabiliter*: Text and Context’ in M. T. Flanagan and J. A. Green, eds., *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 140–63 and D. Ó Corráin, *The Irish Church, its Reform and the English Invasion*, Trinity Medieval Ireland Series 2 (Dublin, 2017), pp. 97–102.

⁵⁰ Prin., II.19 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 512–15, GCO viii.197, *Instruction of Princes*, pp. 38–9), Exp., II.5 (*Expugnatio*, pp. 146–7) and mentioned in passing in Top., III.92 (GCO v.149, *Topography*, p. 100). This letter was long ago dismissed as inauthentic by Sheehy, citing internal features and described a “crude fake” by Duggan. See M. Sheehy, ‘The Bull *Laudabiliter*: A Problem in Medieval Diplomatic and History’, *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 29 (1960–1), 45–70, at pp. 64–6 and Duggan, ‘*Totus*’, p. 140.

⁵¹ Prin., II.23, II.25, III.4 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 520–3, pp. 526–31 and pp. 580–5, GCO viii.201–2, GCO viii.204–6, and GCO viii.236–9, *Instruction*, pp. 41–2, p. 43 (partial translation) and pp. 60–2). The last letter is discussed in Hurlock, *Crusades*, pp. 64–5; Prin., II.18 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 506–9, GCO viii.194, *Instruction of Princes*, p. 36).

⁵² *Instructione* – Bartlett, p. 507, n. 216.

Gerald's claim that it was issued in response to a threat from the Welsh we may reasonably understand the letter, given the references in it to the Holy Land, as reassurance for Henry II should he take the Cross.⁵³ Part of a letter from Urban III to Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury (1184–90) is quoted with approval by Gerald, as are the criticisms of Henry of Blois (Bishop of Winchester, 1129–71) by Eugenius III (1145–53).⁵⁴ In a letter to three clergymen of Hereford defending the tone of his *De Invectionibus* and *Speculum Duorum*, Gerald refers to a recent letter of Innocent III to Philip Augustus of France.⁵⁵ Gerald was defending himself against accusations that his works were libellous and sought to show that he wrote in the same vein as the Pope.⁵⁶ He further refers to papal letters to criticise the Cistercian order. Seeking to highlight the order's greed, Gerald tells how the abbey of Aberconwy sought to acquire the possessions of a *clas* church and only a papal letter prevented it.⁵⁷ The doubts over the authenticity of the Irish documents might lead us to question Gerald's judgement, but again Gerald treats words connected to the papacy as authoritative.

Not all references to the papacy and its agents are positive. Gerald quotes Bernard of Clairvaux's remarks to Eugenius III on alleged corruption amongst papal legates.⁵⁸ Gerald

⁵³ N. Vincent, 'Beyond Becket: King Henry II and the Papacy (1154–89)', in P. D. Clarke and A. J. Duggan, eds., *Pope Alexander III (1159–81): The Art of Survival* (Ashgate, 2012), pp. 257–300, p. 270, n. 48, *Instructione* - Bartlett, p. 467, n. 93 and C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 41–5.

⁵⁴ *De Jure*, I (GCO iii.124), *Spec. Eccl.*, II.25 (GCO iv.76), *Itin.* II.14 (GCO vi.149, *Journey*, p. 206); *Vita Rem.*, XXVII (GCO vii.46). On Henry of Blois, see D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 281–93.

⁵⁵ *Spec. Duorum*, Letter 2.88–104 (pp. 164–7). Gerald also refers to the same letter in a letter to John, Prior of Brecon. *Idem.*, Letter 5.132–6 (pp. 196–9).

⁵⁶ Innocent's letter does not appear to have survived. *Spec. Duorum*, pp. xl–xli.

⁵⁷ *Spec. Eccl.*, III.8 (GCO iv.167–8). See also B. Golding, 'Gerald of Wales and the Cistercians', *Reading Medieval Studies* 21 (Reading, 1995), 5–30, pp. 16–17 and Rh. W. Hays, *The History of the Abbey of Aberconway* (Cardiff, 1963), pp. 30–1, where the *clas* church is suggested to have been Beddgelert. For an overview of *clas* churches, see T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 602–14.

⁵⁸ *Prin.*, I.19 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 328–9, GCO viii.108).

repeats charges of greed against several Popes.⁵⁹ Both examples might be seen as constructive criticism however. Gerald elsewhere praises legates' qualities because they prefer justice to money,⁶⁰ and the reported greed of recent Popes was, according to Gerald, encouraged by their meek and humble nature.⁶¹ One might see these accusations forming part of Gerald's argument for reform of papal funding.⁶²

Gerald has been shown to have had a high regard for the papacy, which is further reflected in his personal contact with papal power. He may have thought it appropriate to contact the papacy about the bizarre issue of werewolves, but he also appealed to it for practical assistance. Most examples of appeals are found in Gerald's *Speculum Duorum* and the letters appended to it. This work was originally a letter composed as part of the dispute between Gerald and his nephew, also called Gerald, and William de Capella, the younger Gerald's tutor.⁶³ In one letter, Gerald describes Rome as the "last refuge and remedy on earth."⁶⁴ He tells the story of a priest dispossessed by his son and of the father's restoration by Innocent III as indicative of the youth's lack of gratitude, clearly comparing his nephew to the youth.⁶⁵ Appeal and counter-appeal to Rome formed part of Gerald's conflict with his nephew.⁶⁶ We also see the Abbot of Cîteaux securing papal censure against Bishop Geoffrey of Henlaw on behalf of Abbot Rhirid of Cwm Hir.⁶⁷ By the time he composed *Speculum Duorum* in its current form around 1216, appeal to Rome was well established but Gerald also tells of an

⁵⁹ *Spec. Eccl.*, IV.15 (GCO iv.291–3).

⁶⁰ *Gemma*, I.51 (GCO ii.153, *Jewel*, p. 117).

⁶¹ *Spec. Eccl.*, IV.16 (GCO iv.294–6).

⁶² Kay, 'Fourth Lateran', pp. 81–5.

⁶³ On this dispute see *Spec. Duorum*, pp. xxx–xxxix and Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 50–2.

⁶⁴ "*ultimum refugium atque remedium in terris*". *Spec. Duorum*, Letter 7.73–4 (pp. 246–7).

⁶⁵ *Spec. Duorum*, I.241–56 (pp. 14–17).

⁶⁶ The younger Gerald and William threatened to appeal to the papacy regarding Gerald's conduct and Gerald likewise complained to the papacy over his nephew and William. *Spec. Duorum*, II.196–205 (pp. 88–9), Letter 7.72–7 (pp. 246–7), and Letter 7.156–63 (pp. 250–1) and pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

⁶⁷ *Spec. Duorum*, Letter 8.299–305 (pp. 280–1) and p. xlix.

earlier appeal.⁶⁸ Elsewhere, Gerald reports that his conflict with Peter de Leia (Bishop of St Davids, 1176–98) led to the loss of part of his income.⁶⁹ He sought remedy by writing a letter of complaint and appeal to the papacy.⁷⁰

Gerald's letter may have been the first direct contact with the papacy, but there is evidence that he had previously acted as a papal agent. As a young man he was appointed as an officer to assist Richard of Dover, Archbishop of Canterbury (1173–84) and the Pope's legate from 1174 until his death in 1184.⁷¹ Gerald was clearly in the favour of the archbishop, later noting the archbishop's support for his nomination as Bishop of St Davids in 1176.⁷² The pride Gerald took in being appointed to an important role is palpable and intensified by association with Rome. Two points emphasise the appointment's importance.

Firstly, this was an opportunity for Gerald to display reforming zeal, if equally an opportunity for the problems that such zeal could create.⁷³ With the powers entrusted to him, Gerald attempted to regularise clerical life by dismissing Jordan, Archdeacon of Brecon, for "concubinage".⁷⁴ Jordan, a colourful character, was originally deposed by Eugenius III (1145–53) for forgery, before successfully appealing to the papacy for reinstatement.⁷⁵

Gerald also enabled the collection of tithes in South West Wales, despite the local gentry's

⁶⁸ *Spec. Duorum*, p. xxi.

⁶⁹ On Peter de Leia, see Evans, 'Bishops', pp. 283–7.

⁷⁰ The letter of complaint does not survive, but an accompanying letter may have done so. See De Reb., II.7 (GCO, i.55–6, *Autobiography*, pp. 75–7), Symb El., XXX (GCO i.308–9), and Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 91–2.

⁷¹ De Reb., I.3 (GCO i.24, *Autobiography*, p. 39), Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 90.

⁷² De Reb., I.10 (GCO i.42–2, *Autobiography*, pp. 61–2) and Inv., V.7 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 188–9).

⁷³ For Gerald as a reformer in the Welsh context see J. R. Davies, 'Aspects of Church Reform in Wales, c. 1093–c. 1223' in C. P. Lewis, ed., *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (2007), pp. 85–99, pp. 97–8.

⁷⁴ De Reb., I.4 (GCO i.27, *Autobiography*, pp. 42–3). Gerald's views on priestly celibacy are made clear in Gemma, II.6 (GCO ii.187–91, *Jewel*, pp.144–8). See also T. O'Loughlin, 'Giraldus Cambrensis and the Sexual Agenda of the Twelfth-century Reformers', *Journal of Welsh Religious History* 8 (2000), 1–15, pp. 4–5 and pp. 13–15, Bartlett, *Gerald*, p. 35, Davies, 'Aspects', pp. 91–5 and Williams, 'An Old Man Remembers', pp. 10–11 and p. 17.

⁷⁵ John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury: Volume 1 The Early Letters (1153–1161)*, ed. W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler and rev. C. N. L. Brooke, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1986), 86. For more on Jordan see Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 91, Roberts, *Gerald*, p. 16 and Evans, 'Bishops', p. 280.

opposition, especially the Flemings who lived in the area.⁷⁶ Following Bartlett, we may presume that it is unlikely that tithes were collected at all thoroughly before Gerald's appointment.⁷⁷ Gerald survived the unrest he caused by excommunicating opponents, by the threat of physical violence from members of his prominent Marcher family and by invoking his papal mandate.⁷⁸

Secondly, this is our earliest description of any papal representative's work in Wales, though it is unlikely that it was the first visit legatine visit. That was perhaps the visit of Theophylact, Bishop of Todi, despatched as an emissary at the time of Offa of Mercia's campaign over the status of the Lichfield diocese in 776.⁷⁹ It also seems certain that John of Crema visited Llandaff during his legation of 1125–26 as he issued a letter granting indulgence to any who would support the church of Llandaff.⁸⁰ There are no descriptions of these legates' activities however.

In addition to the description of legatine activities, Gerald wrote the first account of a Pope by a Welshman of any description.⁸¹ The Pope in question was Innocent III, whom Gerald

⁷⁶ De Reb., I.33 (GCO i.23–4, *Autobiography*, pp. 39–40), Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 90 and Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 14–15. On the Flemings in South Wales, see Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 18–21.

⁷⁷ Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 34–5.

⁷⁸ De Reb., I.3 (GCO i.25–7, *Autobiography*, pp. 41–2). Gerald went so far as to excommunicate William Carquit, the Sheriff of Pembroke. See Davies, 'Giraldus', pp. 90–1 and Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 14–15.

⁷⁹ See Chapter 3, p. 105.

⁸⁰ J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales*, Studies in Celtic History 21 (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 39–40. The legate's letter is calendared as number 8 in *ibid.*, p. 154. On the background to the legation see S. B. Hicks, 'The Anglo-Papal Bargain of 1125: The Legatine Mission of John of Crema', *Albion* 8 (Winter, 1976), 301–10 and for the legation itself see M. Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 42–7 and D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke, eds., *Council and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1981), pp. 730–2.

⁸¹ See below, pp. 40–2. Gerald's sense of identity has been a matter of much scholarly debate by Bartlett, Richter, Walker, Pryce and others. Bartlett's detailed study of Gerald's life and work established that Gerald's primary sense of himself was as a Marcher lord. Pryce built on this, emphasising that Gerald saw Wales as his home. These views are not mutually exclusive and form the basis of seeing Gerald as a Welshman of some description. See Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 16–29, D. Walker, 'Cultural Survival in an Age of Conquest' in R. R. Davies, R. A. Griffiths, I. G. Jones and K. O. Morgan, eds., *Welsh Society and Nationhood* (Cardiff, 1984), pp. 35–50, at pp. 47–50, Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 66–78, pp. 117–18, p. 127 and Pryce, 'Cross-border Career', pp. 51–5.

met as part of a campaign to have his election as Bishop of St Davids recognised and to have St Davids raised to metropolitan status.⁸² These were the defining issues of Gerald's life and his campaign had long lasting consequences for Welsh ecclesiastical organisation. Gerald tells the campaign's tale through several of his works, but especially in *De Rebus a se Gestis*, *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae* and *De Invectionibus*.⁸³ He gives accounts of various stages of the campaign, including arguments before the Curia, and reproduces letters apparently submitted to the Curia on behalf of his opponents. Gerald, in the words of Glanmor Williams, spent "many of his later years engaged in an attempt to describe, explain and justify what he had been trying to accomplish."⁸⁴

St Davids status as a diocese had been raised by Bishop Bernard (Bishop of St Davids, 1115–48) earlier in the twelfth century, before several Popes.⁸⁵ Bernard became interested in the metropolitan status of St Davids around 1125, Sharpe suggests, having been involved in the dispute between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York over the primacy of Britain and Ireland.⁸⁶ The cathedral chapter of St Davids wrote to Honorius II (1124–1130), pressing the case on the basis that St. David had been chosen as archbishop by a synod and that he had been confirmed in the post by his predecessor Dubricius (Dyfrig).⁸⁷ This claim was based on

⁸² The campaign is concisely summarised in Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 40–4 and reconstructed in more detail and with a good deal of sympathy towards Gerald in Davies, 'Giraldus', pp. 258–70. See also Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 83–127 and Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 44–52.

⁸³ Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 94–5 and Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 46–50.

⁸⁴ G. Williams, 'An Old Man Remembers: Gerald the Welshman', *Morgannwg* 32 (1988), 7–20, p. 12.

⁸⁵ Summarised by Davies in Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 260 and in J. Barrow, ed., *St Davids Episcopal Acta 1085–1280* (Cardiff, South Wales Records Society, 1998), pp. 3–4. For Bernard's career see Evans, 'Bishops', pp. 272–7 and Davies, 'Aspects', pp. 88–9. On the use of St David's apparent past by Gerald, see H. Pryce, 'Gerald of Wales and the Welsh Past', in G. Henley, and A. J. McMullen, eds., *Gerald of Wales: New Perspectives on a Medieval Writer and Critic* (Cardiff, 2018), pp. 19–45, at pp. 23–33.

⁸⁶ R. Sharpe, 'Which text is Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David?', in J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, eds., *St. David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, Studies in Celtic History 24 (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 90–105, at pp. 102–3. On Bernard's involvement in the dispute between Canterbury and York, see M. Richter, 'Canterbury's Primacy in Wales and the first stage of Bishop Bernard's Opposition', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 22 (1971), 177–189, at pp. 179–82 and Id., *Giraldus*, p. 39.

⁸⁷ Inv., II.10 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 143–6) and EAWD i, D.80. See also Richter 'Primacy', pp. 187–9 and id., *Giraldus*, pp. 40–2. Gerald repeats this story in the *De Jure*, his *Vita* of St. David and in the *Itinerarium*

tradition at St Davids and accords with the story advanced by the *Vita* of St. David composed by Rhygyfarch ap Sulien in the late eleventh century.⁸⁸ This letter, like many documents concerned with the status of St Davids, only survives as a copy in the work of Gerald. As Gerald is our only witness to this letter and in many other instances, we must proceed with caution as Gerald does not always tell all that he knew.⁸⁹ One should also note the significance of the saint chosen to consecrate David. Dubricius was claimed by the church of Llandaff, St Davids main rival for the position of premier church in Wales, as a patron saint.⁹⁰

The letter introduces the story of Pope Eleutherius sending the missionaries Faganus and Duvianus to convert the Britons.⁹¹ This story is likely to derive from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and gives both the letter and Gerald's repetition of the story a veneer of respectability.⁹² The inclusion of this tale led Barrow to doubt the letter's authenticity. She

Kambriae. See De Jure, II (GCO iii.171), Gerald of Wales, *Vita Sancti Davidis*, VII (GCO iii.401), Itin. I.15, II.1, II.4 (GCO vi.56, 101–2 and 120 and *Journey*, p. 115, pp. 160–1 and p. 179).

⁸⁸ An edition of the text may be found in Rhygyfarch ap Sulien, 'Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David', ed. and trans. R. Sharpe and J. R. Davies in J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, eds., *St. David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, Studies in Celtic History 24 (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 107–55. The relevant section is §53 (pp. 146–7). Rhygyfarch's motivation for the story's inclusion is likely to have been to emphasise the primary position of St Davids (as opposed to Llandaff) in Wales. See Chapter 4, pp. 165–6. Gerald wrote his own version of the Life of David, which drew heavily on Rhygyfarch's work. For Gerald's text see GCO iii.377–404. See also M. Richter, 'The *Life* of St. David by Giraldus Cambrensis', *WHR* 4 (1968–69), 381–6, Bartlett, *Gerald*, p. 152 and id., 'Rewriting Saints' Lives: The Case of Gerald of Wales', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 598–613, especially pp. 602–7 and pp. 610–13 and Pryce, 'Welsh Past', p. 24.

⁸⁹ See Pryce, 'Journey', pp. 20–1.

⁹⁰ On the importance of this Saint for Llandaff see Davies, *Book*, pp. 77–86.

⁹¹ The missionaries were set at the request of a King Lucius of Britain; there was no such king and this statement appears to be derived from a misunderstanding of *Liber Pontificalis*, which might be referring to Abgar IX [or VIII] of Edessa. See F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edition (Oxford, 1997), p. 1003. See also W. Levison, 'Bede as Historian' in A. H. Thompson, ed., *Bede His Life, Times and Writings* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 111–151, at p. 120, n.2 and p. 135, n. 2. On this tale see C. N. Brooke, 'The Archbishops of St. David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk' in N. K. Chadwick, ed., *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 201–242, reprinted in C. N. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages*, Studies in Celtic History 8 (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 16–49, at p. 21, n. 23 and J. C. Crick, 'The British Past and the Welsh Future: Gerald of Wales, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Arthur of Britain', *Celtica* 23 (1999), 60–75, at pp. 69–70.

⁹² Bede, *Histoire Ecclésiastique du Peuple Anglais*, ed. M. Lapidge, trans. P. Monat and P. Robin, notes A. Crépin, 3 vols. (Paris, 2005), i.4 (i., p. 126) and Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R.A. B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, rev. ed. 1991), p.25. Gerald repeatedly refers to this fable elsewhere. See De Jure, II (GCO iii.169, 171), Descr. I.18 (GCO vi.202, *Journey*,

highlights verbal similarities to Geoffrey of Monmouth, suggesting that it was composed after *Historia Regum Britanniae* became popular and that Gerald might have amended the letter to suit his purpose.⁹³ Crick also thought Gerald was indebted to Geoffrey in this instance.⁹⁴ Brooke and Davies accepted the letter as genuine, though they too highlight the similarity between the letter and Geoffrey's text. Basing his argument on the basis of the differences in content between Geoffrey and the letter, Brooke rejected the notion of the letter being dependent on Geoffrey as a source.⁹⁵ In terms of content, W. S. Davies highlights the use of *conventus* rather than *capitulum* to describe the clergy of St Davids, suggesting that this is indicative of a *clas* still being in existence at St Davids when the letter was written.⁹⁶ Bishop Bernard is known to have reformed the organisation at St Davids, suggesting that the letter might have been written early in Bernard's tenure. John Reuben Davies suggested that the story arrived at St Davids through propaganda produced on behalf of Llandaff.⁹⁷ In any case, it is important to note that Rhygyfarch's text, and therefore the tradition of David's election, predates Geoffrey's *Historia* by at least 40 years according to the most recent assessment of the date of composition of *Vita S. David*.⁹⁸

In addition to the tale of Faganus and Duvianus deriving from Bede, Gerald refers to Bede's works on a number of occasions.⁹⁹ Gerald lists Bede's work amongst his proofs of the Welsh

p. 253), Prin., I.20 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 362–5, GCO viii.125–6), Inv., I.2 and II.1 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 91–2 and p. 130).

⁹³ Barrow, *St Davids*, p. 4.

⁹⁴ Crick, 'British Past', pp. 67–8.

⁹⁵ Brooke, 'The Archbishops', pp. 21–22 and pp. 48–9.

⁹⁶ *De Invectionibus*, pp. 19–20.

⁹⁷ Davies, *Book*, p. 77 and p. 110.

⁹⁸ Barrow gives a date of 1136–8 for the composition of *Historia Regum Britanniae* whilst Davies calculated that the *Vita S. David* was written 1091x1093. See Barrow, *St Davids*, p. 4 and see Chapter 4, p. 159, n. 126.

⁹⁹ Richter implies that the original letter drew inspiration for using Bede from a letter of Ralph D'Escures (Archbishop of Canterbury 1114–22) to Calixtus II with which Bernard would have been familiar. See Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 41.

Church's independence from Canterbury.¹⁰⁰ At other times he summarises Bede's narrative, referring, for instance, to Boniface V (619–25) granting a pallium to Justus when he became Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁰¹ It seems likely that Gerald utilised Bede to give his own case a more respectable basis in history.

Upon discovering the St Davids chapter's letter, part of Gerald's strategy became to stress the apparent antiquity of St Davids as a see. To this end, he makes frequent references, including to St. Samson of Dol taking the pallium of St Davids to Brittany.¹⁰² Gerald used this tale to explain the lack of pallium to Pope Innocent, and utilised the recent history of Dol to argue for the return of the pallium to St Davids.¹⁰³ An archbishopric had been established at Dol only during the pontificate of Gregory VII, although an attempt had apparently been made to become independent of Tours' jurisdiction in the ninth century. Following appeals from Tours and the French Court, Dol lost the pallium in 1199.¹⁰⁴ Another aspect is the diocesan structure of Britain espoused by Gerald, who claimed that several sees in England were once subject to the jurisdiction of St Davids.¹⁰⁵ Though doubtless born of St Davids tradition this was also a necessary strategy as Canterbury could point to professions of obedience from

¹⁰⁰ Gerald of Wales, *Retractiones* (GCO i.426), *De Jure*, I and IV (GCO iii.111, 229), *Itin.* II.1 (GCO vi.105, *Journey*, p. 164), *Inv.*, II.1 and IV.1 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 132–4 and p. 164). Gerald's use of Bede in his argument is summarised in Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 113–14 and see also Pryce, 'Welsh Past', pp. 27–8.

¹⁰¹ Bede, *Histoire*, ii.8 (i.326–30), Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 159–61. *De Jure*, II (GCO iii.173–4), *Inv.*, II.1 (*Invectionibus*, p. 133).

¹⁰² *Inv.*, II.1 (*Invectionibus*, p. 130), *Retractiones* (GCO i.426), *De Jure*, I and II (GCO iii.111, 169, *Autobiography*, p. 254); *De Jure*, II (GCO iii.151–2, 166–7), *Itin.* II.1 (GCO vi.103, *Journey*, p. 162), *Inv.*, II.1, II.5, II.6, II.10 and IV.2 (*Invectionibus*, pp.131–2, p. 139, p. 140, p. 145 and p. 165). See also EAWD i, p. 216. See also Pryce, 'Welsh Past', p. 25 and pp. 28–31.

¹⁰³ *De Jure*, II (GCO iii.175–6, *Autobiography*, p. 188) and Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 114.

¹⁰⁴ H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 395–8.

¹⁰⁵ Claimed in a letter to the Bishops of Ely and Worcester proposing a settlement between Gerald and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The dioceses named are Chester, Coventry, Hereford, Worcester, Bath and Exeter. *Inv.*, II.4 and IV.1 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 137–8 and pp. 162–4), *De Jure*, IV (GCO iii.229–31, *Autobiography*, pp. 254–6), EAWD i, pp. 222–3 and D.360. For the possible influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth's work on this point see Crick, 'British Past', pp. 69–70.

bishops of St Davids and papal confirmation of Canterbury's metropolitan rights over St Davids from Adrian IV, Eugenius III, Alexander III and Celestine III (1191–98).¹⁰⁶

After the chapter's letter, Bishop Bernard continued his campaign for several years. He wrote to Innocent II (1130–43), apologising for and explaining the delay in pressing his suit, complaining that he was forced to profess an oath of obedience contrary to custom and emphasising the difference in “nation, language, laws, habits, judgements and customs” between the people of his province (*prouincie*) and those in the province of Canterbury.¹⁰⁷ These final points, emphasising the difference between the people of St Davids and those in the province of Canterbury would later form part of Gerald's argument.

Bernard's arguments made some headway, with the bishop receiving the promise of an inquiry into the status of St Davids from Lucius II (1144–45).¹⁰⁸ A letter to Eugenius III from the chapter of St Davids survives and it is known that Bernard argued before the same Pope in person.¹⁰⁹ The letter emphasises the ancient dignity of St Davids and highlights the pressure put on both bishop Bernard and his predecessor Wilfred (d. 1115) to swear obedience to Canterbury. Bernard lost his case in 1147 because he had sworn an oath of obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury at the time of his consecration, a point confirmed in a letter from Eugenius III to Theobald of Bec (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1139–61).¹¹⁰ The case of St

¹⁰⁶ De Reb., III.19 (GCO i.121, *Autobiography*, p. 167), De Jure, I (GCO iii.110), Inv., I.1 (*Invectionibus*, p. 83).

¹⁰⁷ Inv., II.7 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 141–2), EAWD i, p.192 and D.121. On the circumstances in which the letter was written and the potential result of the letter see Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 42–4.

¹⁰⁸ De Jure, III (GCO iii.187), Inv., II.1 and II.3 (*Invectionibus*, p. 134 and pp. 136–7), EAWD i, p. 193 and D.123. Richter highlights a mistake in Davies's translation of this letter. See Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 44 and especially n. 5.

¹⁰⁹ Inv., II.6 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 139–41), EAWD i, pp.194–6 and D.131; De Jure, II (GCO iii.152–3) and p. 168, Itin. II.1 (GCO vi.105–6, *Journey*, p. 165), Inv., II.1 and IV.2 (*Invectionibus*, p. 134 and p. 166). See also EAWD, i.198 and Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 47–8.

¹¹⁰ De Jure, II (GCO iii.180–1, *Autobiography*, pp. 193–4), Itin. II.1 (GCO vi.105–6, *Journey*, p. 165), Inv., II.2 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 135–6), EAWD i, D.128. See also Davies, ‘Giraldus’, p. 260, Roberts, *Gerald*, p.21 and Brooke ‘Archbishops’, p. 29. Bernard's campaign caused a furious reaction amongst other bishops subject to Canterbury as is attested in surviving letters by the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, Bath, Exeter and Norwich. They

David's itself was due to be heard at the Council of Rheims in 1148 but Bernard died before it was settled.¹¹¹

After Bernard's death, David fitz Gerald was elected Bishop of St Davids.¹¹² He professed obedience to Canterbury, and further undertook not to raise the issue of St Davids's status during his episcopacy.¹¹³ He could thus do nothing to support the clergy of St Davids as they protested their case before Hugh Pierleone of St. Angelo, the papal legate, at a council in London.¹¹⁴ Beyond the registering of complaints with Henry II and with the papal legate, nothing else is known about the protest at this council. The council took place as part of Pierleone's legation and was used to discuss the pressing issues within the Church with Gerald noting elsewhere that the council was called to discuss the relationship between York and Canterbury.¹¹⁵ After failing to become Bishop of St Davids himself in 1176, Gerald attempted to persuade both Pierleone and Peter de Leia, the new bishop, not to act in such a way as to prejudice any future case regarding the status of St Davids. He was disappointed by both men and by his fellow clergy at St Davids whom he accused of cowardice.¹¹⁶

are calendared in EAWD i, D.132–7, with the letter from the Bishop of Norwich published in W. Holtzmann, ed., *Papsturkunden in England*, 3 vols. (Berlin 1930–52), iii.60, and others in, respectively, *English Episcopal Acta 7: Hereford 1079–1234*, ed. J. Barrow (Oxford, 1993), 14 (pp.14–16), *English Episcopal Acta 8: Winchester 1070–1204*, ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford, 1993), 31 (pp. 21–22), *English Episcopal Acta 10: Bath and Wells 1061–1205*, ed. F. M. R. Ramsey (Oxford, 1995), 42 (pp. 30–1) and *English Episcopal Acta 11: Exeter 1046–1184*, ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1996), 31 (pp. 30–1). Richter attaches significance to the fact that several of these bishops had supported Matilda during the conflict with Stephen, and emphasises Bernard's connection to Henry of Blois in particular. On these letters, see EAWD, i.196–8, Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 45–7 and notes accompanying their respective editions. On professions of obedience to Canterbury by Welsh bishops during the Twelfth Century see M. Richter, 'Professions of obedience and the metropolitan claim of St David's', *NLWJ* 15 (1967–68), 197–214.

¹¹¹ Roberts, *Gerald*, p.21 and Brooke 'Archbishops', pp. 29–30. Bernard had requested that Simeon, Archdeacon of Bangor, should support him at this council. See Inv., II.8 and II.11 (*Invectionibus*, p. 142 and p. 146) and EAWD i, D.139. On Simeon see Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 50.

¹¹² On David fitz Gerald see Evans, 'Bishops', pp. 277–82.

¹¹³ EAWD i, p. 208 and Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 48 and pp. 54–5.

¹¹⁴ De Reb., I.8 (GCO i.40–1, *Autobiography*, p. 58), De Jure, I and II (GCO iii.109, 155 and 168), Inv., II.1 and IV.2 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 134–5 and p. 166), EAWD i, D.187–8, Davies, 'Giraldus', pp. 96–7, Roberts, *Gerald*, p. 19. On this council see *Council and Synods*, I.ii pp. 993–1010.

¹¹⁵ Vita Rem., XXVIII (GCO vii.62–3), Prin., II.2 and II.30 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 446–7 and 552–3, GCO viii.159 and 218, *Instruction*, p. 13 and 51), Exp., II.31 (*Expugnatio*, pp. 220–1)

¹¹⁶ De Reb. I.11 (GCO i.44, *Autobiography*, pp. 62–3).

The issue was raised again at the Third Lateran Council.¹¹⁷ Gerald had by then returned to Paris to study and information about the council was provided by a friend of his, Gerard la Pucelle, later Bishop of Coventry (1183–84). La Pucelle’s reported comments do not cast much light on the protest, noting only that the canons of St Davids protested “with great boldness and arrogance” and that they demanded a commission to investigate the metropolitan right which they claimed for their see.¹¹⁸ Gerald’s purpose in including this chapter in *De Rebus a se Gestis* was perhaps less to do with recording the longstanding metropolitan claims of St Davids and more a protest at the conduct of Peter de Leia, who, like David fitz Gerald, had sworn an oath of obedience to Canterbury and did not support the canons.¹¹⁹ The relationship between Gerald and Peter de Leia was to become fraught, with Gerald accusing the bishop of playing both the Lord Rhys and his sons on the one hand and Henry II and his court on the other against him.¹²⁰ The issue of St Davids’s status was still under discussion in the late 1170s.

Perhaps the memory of these events prompted Archbishop Baldwin’s visitation to the Welsh dioceses in 1187 and for his celebration of mass at the four Welsh cathedrals during the Crusade preaching tour of 1188.¹²¹ Baldwin clearly had the metropolitan claims of his see in mind and wished to assert them.¹²² Hurlock has drawn attention to the importance of the

¹¹⁷ De Reb., II.3 (GCO i.48–9, *Autobiography*, p. 68), De Jure, I and II (GCO iii.109, 163 and 168), Inv., IV.2 (*Invectionibus*, p. 166). See also Davies, ‘Giraldus’, pp. 98–9, Roberts, *Gerald*, p. 23.

¹¹⁸ De Reb., II.3 (GCO i.49, *Autobiography*, p. 68).

¹¹⁹ Gerald repeated his concerns about the bishop’s conduct elsewhere. See De Jure, II (GCO iii.163) and Inv., II.1 (*Invectionibus*, p. 135).

¹²⁰ Bartlett, *Gerald*, p. 24 and Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 89–93.

¹²¹ Pryce, ‘Journey’, p. 24 and p. 26 and the references to W. Stubbs, ed., *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, 2 vols., Rolls Series 38 (London, 1864–5), ii. p. xlix and Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., Rolls Series 73 (London, 1879–90) i., p. 365. Gervase of Canterbury links this visitation to Baldwin’s role as a legate, complaining that Baldwin was spending far too much time away. Baldwin had been made a papal legate in 1185, and the visitation may well have formed part of his legation. See I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy: 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 173; the latter tour is discussed in Hurlock, *Crusades*, pp. 58–91.

¹²² Itin. II.1 (GCO vi.104–5, *Journey*, p. 164). Pryce, ‘Journey’, pp. 24–5, R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford, 2000), p.191, Hurlock, *Crusades*, pp. 63–4.

archbishop's visit to Llanddewi Brefi. It was here that St David was supposed to have preached against the Pelagian heresy, and that a mound had risen so that all present could see and hear him preach and was also the site of David's apparent election to the archbishopric.¹²³ The symbolism of these visits, asserting Canterbury's claims of superiority, was interpreted as a threat to their cause by some of St Davids's clergy who protested against his presence in Wales.¹²⁴

It should be noted however, that the first recension of *Itinerarium Kambriae*, does not mention this protest, which only appears in Gerald's revised second recension of c. 1199. This latter recension also fails to mention Baldwin's celebration of mass at St Davids.¹²⁵ The changes made to the text may be explained by the fact that Gerald had, by the time of the second recension's composition, begun his campaign to change the status of St Davids. At the time of writing the first recension of *Itinerarium Kambriae* in c. 1188, Gerald seemed content to accept Canterbury's claims as is made apparent by Gerald's comments on the state of St Davids in the same work.¹²⁶ Opportunities to advance his career became more limited after this time, especially after Hubert Walter became Archbishop of Canterbury (1193–1215).¹²⁷ Previously, Gerald had sought Hubert Walter's favour, dedicating the first edition of the *Descriptio Kambriae* to him, and claiming to have dedicated a version of the *Itinerarium*.¹²⁸ The change in their relationship stemmed from Gerald's decision to support Prince John's

¹²³ Itin. II.4 (GCO vi.119–20, *Journey*, p. 179) and K. Hurlock, 'Power, Preaching and the Crusades in Pura Wallia', in B. Weiler, J. Burton, P. Schofield and K. Stöber, eds., *Thirteenth Century England XI* (Woodbridge, 2007), 94–108, at pp. 96–7.

¹²⁴ Itin. I.1 (GCO vi.15–16, *Journey*, pp. 76–7).

¹²⁵ T. Jones, 'Gerald the Welshman's 'Itinerary through Wales' and 'Description of Wales': An appreciation and analysis', *NLWJ* 6 (1949–50), 117–48; 197–222, p. 145 and A. L. B. Sargent, *Visions and Revisions: Gerald of Wales, Authorship, and the Construction of Political, Religious, and Legal Geographies in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Britain* (University of California, Berkeley, PhD thesis, 2011), pp. 157–9.

¹²⁶ Itin. II.1 (GCO vi.107, *Journey*, p. 166) and Bartlett, *Gerald*, p. 45.

¹²⁷ Although discussing Gerald's sense of changing identity, Richter's comment that Gerald "became a more fervent Welshman after his hopes for a more attractive career in England had been destroyed" seem apt. Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 127.

¹²⁸ Jones, 'Gerald's 'Itinerary'', pp. 144–5.

rebellion during the incarceration of Richard I in Germany.¹²⁹ With his chances of promotion in England limited, but with his ambition fully intact, Gerald rejected the offers of Irish and Welsh bishoprics and, having changed his mind on the question of St Davids, after the death of Peter de Leia in 1198, Gerald appears to have been determined to become Archbishop of St Davids.¹³⁰

Hubert Walter rejected Gerald's arguments outright.¹³¹ As well as citing apparent papal approval of Canterbury's right to treat the bishops of St Davids as suffragans, he raised the possibility of political instability should Welsh "barbarity" be unrestrained by obedience to the see of Canterbury. The latter is perhaps the most significant point. As Bartlett has highlighted any challenge to the jurisdiction of Canterbury over Welsh sees was an indirect assault on the Crown's authority.¹³² The archbishop had soon secured royal support for his stance.¹³³

The case bought by Gerald and his predecessors in the cause of St Davids was entirely without merit on the arguments advanced by them. This is to say that there was no evidence of metropolitan status, even though there is some evidence that the Bishop of St Davids

¹²⁹ H. Pryce, 'Gerald of Wales, Gildas and the *Descriptio Kambriae*' in F. Edmonds and P. Russell, eds., *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law in honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards*, Studies in Celtic History 31 (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 115–24 at p. 123, Id., 'Journey', pp. 31–2, Id., 'Cross-border Career', p. 57, Gillingham, 'Henry II, Richard I and the Lord Rhys', p. 67 n. 57 and Bartlett, *Gerald*, p. 24, and p. 59.

¹³⁰ Bartlett, *Gerald*, p. 46 and p. 206, n. 97, Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 102, p. 105 and pp. 259–60 and Walker, 'Gerald', p. 64.

¹³¹ Inv., I.1 (*De Invectionibus*, pp. 83–5 and *Autobiography*, p. 166–9). Walter's letter was criticised for "lack[ing] conviction and persuasiveness" by Richter. This is too dismissive, and the letter is better understood as an expression of Canterbury's claim of supremacy over all other bishops within the British Isles. Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 109–10.

¹³² "Any attack on the English Church in Wales, then, involved an additional political dimension. The logic of such an attack led inevitably towards criticism of the policies which the English crown was pursuing towards the Welsh." Bartlett, *Gerald*, p. 47.

¹³³ The sentiments of Walter's letter echoed the reported words of Henry II at the time of Gerald's first nomination to St Davids and in a letter of King John (1199–1216) to the Curia during Gerald's case. See Bartlett, *Gerald*, p. 48.

exercised “a kind of episcopal over-lordship from the latter part of the ninth century.”¹³⁴ The motivation for Bishop Bernard’s case had little to do with factual claims of metropolitan status and owed much to the competition initiated by Bishop Urban of Llandaff (1107–1134) between his see and St Davids.¹³⁵ As W. S. Davies pointed out, it seems significant that in the letters concerned with Bernard’s suit in Gerald’s work the word *dignitas* is used sixteen times. The rights of his see were of primary concern to Bernard.¹³⁶ At a time when claims of primacy were developing in Europe and especially given the dispute between Canterbury and York, and the reforms enacted by him at St Davids it is little wonder that Bernard sought to take advantage of the situation in defence of his see’s interests.¹³⁷ Not only was the bishop involved in the latter dispute but he was purportedly party to Henry of Blois’s plan to create a province of Winchester during the reign of Stephen.¹³⁸ Bishop Bernard would doubtlessly also have been aware of the efforts from the Irish Church to create archbishoprics that were independent of Canterbury at Cashel and Armagh following the synod of Ráith Bressail in 1111.¹³⁹ One might further consider the political context of Bernard’s bid, especially after the death of Henry I (1100–35). Following Henry’s demise several Welsh rulers made substantial gains at the expense of the Anglo-Normans, creating an unstable atmosphere.¹⁴⁰ Conditions were then ripe for Bernard’s case to be advanced.

¹³⁴ J. R. Davies, ‘The Archbishopric of St. David’s and the Bishops of *Clas Cyndir*’ in J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, eds., *St. David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, Studies in Celtic History 24 (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 296–304, at p. 297, T. M. Charles-Edwards, ‘The Seven Bishop-houses of Dyfed’, *BBCS* 24 (1972), 247–62, at pp. 256–60 and *WB*, pp. 596–8 and cf. C. Etchingham, ‘Bishoprics in Ireland and Wales in the early Middle Ages: some comparisons’, in J. R. Guy and W. G. Neely, eds., *Contrasts and Comparisons: Studies in Irish and Welsh Church History* (Welshpool/Keady, 1999), pp. 7–25, at pp. 23–4.

¹³⁵ The dispute is summarised in *AoC*, pp. 182–3.

¹³⁶ *Invectionibus*, p. 37, n. 1.

¹³⁷ For Bernard’s reforms in the diocese see *EAWD* i, pp. 136–41 and p. 144 and Evans, ‘Bishops’, pp. 274–6. On the establishing of metropolitan claims in Europe see Brooke ‘Archbishops’, pp. 24–6 and on the claims of metropolitan status discussed at the Council of Rheims (where the status of St Davids was due to be discussed prior to Bernard’s death) see *EAWD* i, p. 200.

¹³⁸ On his involvement in the dispute between Canterbury and York see above, p. 21, n. 86 and for his involvement with Henry of Blois, see *Invectionibus*, pp. 34–5, *EAWD* i, pp. 200–1 and Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 288.

¹³⁹ Flanagan, *Irish Society*, pp. 25–6, p. 32 and below p. 31, n. 141.

¹⁴⁰ J. Gillingham, ‘The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *History of the Kings of Britain*’ in J. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 19–39, at pp. 32–4.

Gerald was also aware of reforms that had taken place in Ireland and Scotland and how their episcopates had become free of the jurisdiction of Canterbury and York, drawing explicit comparison with the Scottish Church in his writing.¹⁴¹ The latter two claims succeeded in part due to the lack of a military conquest of either Scotland and Ireland, with the Scottish monarchy's strength being particularly important in maintaining the Scottish Church's status as a 'special daughter' of the papacy after the issuing of *Cum universi* in 1192.¹⁴²

Both Bernard and Gerald sought to advance themselves by becoming powerful figures beyond the jurisdiction of Canterbury.¹⁴³ This idea also appealed to Welsh princes, who saw advantages in having their bishops under the jurisdiction of a Welsh see rather than Canterbury, and the lack of English royal control implied by this status. The Church was a weapon in the fight for their political survival and had been extremely important in cross-border conflicts since the coming of the Normans, with Davies observing that: "the subjugation of the Welsh church [sic] was at once politically essential and ecclesiastically necessary" to the Normans.¹⁴⁴ There were a number of disputes with Canterbury's candidates for Welsh sees within living memory. Amongst other examples, Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170) objected to Meurig (Bishop of Bangor, 1139–61) and his willingness to pledge obedience to

¹⁴¹ De Jure, II (GCO iii.175, *Autobiography*, p. 187), Inv., II.5 and IV.2 (*Invectionibus*, pp.138–9 and pp. 166–7). Davies, Richter and Bartlett provide brief summaries of the situation in Scotland and Ireland in EAWD i, pp. 204–7, Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 25–28 and R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075–1225* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 92–7. On Scotland see R. Oram, *Domination and Lordship Scotland 1070–1230*, New Edinburgh History of Scotland 3 (Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 334–46. On Ireland see Flanagan, *Irish Society*, pp. 7–55, especially pp. 33–8.

¹⁴² Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 46–7 and H. Pryce, 'Church and Society in Wales. 1150–1250: An Irish Perspective' in R. R. Davies, ed., *The British Isles 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections*, (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 27–47, at p. 31. See also Roberts, *Gerald*, pp. 19–20 and Williams, 'An Old Man Remembers', p. 14.

¹⁴³ Before the end of his case, Gerald relented a little on his insistence on full independence. He offered Hubert Walter a compromise in September 1202 whereby he would become an Archbishop over Wales, abandoning St Davids's claims to five dioceses in England, and still be subject to Canterbury albeit a subject of metropolitan rank. For the letter see above, p. 24, n. 105.

¹⁴⁴ *AoC*, p. 179.

Canterbury and he also clashed with Thomas Becket over the appointment of a new bishop to Bangor following Meurig's death in 1162.¹⁴⁵

Perhaps stemming in part from the opposition of Henry of Abergavenny (Bishop of Llandaff 1193–1218) to his case, Gerald sought to show the willingness of others in Wales to support his bid, and to demonstrate the longstanding nature of this support.¹⁴⁶ As part of his evidence, he included a letter from Owain Gwynedd and his brother Cadwaladr (d. 1172), pledging obedience to Bernard and acknowledging the metropolitan rights of St Davids.¹⁴⁷ There is some room to doubt the authenticity of this letter. Gerald's is the only extant copy of the letter and it seems likely that Gerald altered the brothers' original letter to emphasise their submission to St Davids.¹⁴⁸ Although the letter in its current form is unlikely to be a genuine document it reflects the brothers' objectives in seeking assistance against Bishop Meurig, whose reformist tendencies and profession of obedience to Canterbury had displeased them. This was a rare show of unity by the brothers as they would later fight each other, leading to Cadwaladr's exile in 1152 and a later alliance with Henry II.¹⁴⁹

In his own time, Gerald found support amongst the sons of the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth of Gwynedd, Gwenwynwyn ab Owain Cyfeiliog and Madog ap Gruffudd Maelor of Powys.¹⁵⁰ For the commission of inquiry's meeting at Worcester, in an attempt to stiffen the resolve of the canons of St Davids, Maelgwn ap Rhys and Rhys Grug ap

¹⁴⁵ See below p. 37, n. 177, Chapter 2, pp. 75–6 and Chapter 3, p. 124.

¹⁴⁶ Inv., I.3 (*Invectionibus*, p. 93)

¹⁴⁷ Inv., II.9 and II.12 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 142–3 and pp. 146–7), AWR, 192 and EAWD i, D.122. See also De Jure, III (GCO iii.188).

¹⁴⁸ AWR, p. 323.

¹⁴⁹ Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 31–2 and p. 44, Davies, 'Aspects', p. 91, J. B. Smith, 'Dynastic Succession in Medieval Wales', *BBCS* 33 (1986), 199–232, p. 214 and J. D. Hosler, 'Henry II's Military Campaigns in Wales, 1157 and 1162', in B. S. Bachrach, C. J. Rogers and K. De Vries, eds., *Journal of Medieval Military History* 2 (2004) (Woodbridge, 2004), 53–71, pp. 57–8.

¹⁵⁰ De Jure, III (GCO iii.196, *Autobiography*, p.221).

Rhys sent letters and messengers supporting Gerald whilst Llywelyn ap Iorwerth sent Lawrence, the prior of Bardsey, to the meeting along with an offer of sanctuary and recompense to the clergy of St Davids should they suffer as a result of their support for Gerald's highly political campaign.¹⁵¹ Llywelyn also assisted Gerald financially and Gwenwynwyn had promised to do so.¹⁵² From the chapter headings for a lost section of *De rebus a se gestis*, we can see that Gerald claimed to have received three further letters of support from the Welsh nobility, most probably during the summer of 1202. These were letters from, respectively, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, Madog ap Gruffudd, and the Queen of North Wales (*Literae reginae Norwalliae*).¹⁵³

Gerald gathered further support from the princes in a letter which formed part of his final appeal to the Pope.¹⁵⁴ Butler suspected that this letter was Gerald's own composition as it reflects his style and repeated a substantial part of his argument.¹⁵⁵ One might further apply this to the speeches praising Gerald's work and campaign put into the mouths of Llywelyn and Gwenwynwyn by the author.¹⁵⁶ These reasons alone are not an argument for dismissing the letter out of hand, but greater doubt over its authenticity is cast by the princes named by Gerald. By the time of Gerald's arrival in Rome with the letter in January 1203, one of the princes, Maredudd ap Rhys, had been dead for 18 months and another, Gruffudd ap Rhys, had been dead for almost as long.¹⁵⁷ If the letter is genuine then it must have been written

¹⁵¹ De Jure, III (GCO iii.197, *Autobiography*, pp. 221–2). See also EAWD i, D.341–2 and AWR, 222.

¹⁵² De Jure, IV (GCO iii.225–6, *Autobiography*, pp. 249–50).

¹⁵³ De Reb (GCO i.13) and AWR, 223, 502, 275.

¹⁵⁴ AWR 220, De Jure, IV (GCO iii.244–6), EAWD i, pp. 224–5 and D.363. See also Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 122–3. For the Powysian dimension of this letter, see D. Stephenson, *Medieval Powys: Kingdom, Principality and Lordships, 1132–1293*, Studies in Celtic History 35 (Woodbridge, 2016), p. 83, n. 58.

¹⁵⁵ *Autobiography*, p. 269. The point is also made by Davies in EAWD i, p. 225, Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 122 and in D. Stephenson, *Political Power in Medieval Gwynedd: Governance and the Welsh Princes*, 2nd edition, Studies in Welsh History 5 (Cardiff, 2014), p. 163.

¹⁵⁶ De Jure, III (GCO iii.209–10, *Autobiography*, pp. 233–5).

¹⁵⁷ Pryce gives Maredudd's death as 2 July 1201 and Jones-Pierce gives the death date of Gruffudd as 25 July 1201. See AWR, p. 371 and T. Jones-Pierce, 'Gruffydd ap Rhys (d. 1201)', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, National Library of Wales, 2009 [<http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-GRUF-APR-1201.html>, accessed 21 April 2015]

before Maredudd died in July 1201 and before Gerald's arrival in Rome for his second extended stay from March until December 1201. Even if one were to dismiss the text as inauthentic, then the document, as Insley has argued, is at least valuable in that it provides an insight as to how Gerald "viewed the power of the princes of *Pura Wallia*."¹⁵⁸

Whilst it seems likely that the princes sympathised with the letter's arguments, it also reflects the arguments advanced by Gerald. One might consider the letter's attacks on bishops from England in Wales and the abuse of excommunication during conflicts by the Crown and its agents. The comments about these bishops' inability to hear confession or to preach without an interpreter is reminiscent of Gerald's comments on the preaching tour of 1188, where he several times mentions the need for interpreters so that the Welsh could understand.¹⁵⁹ That Gerald should highlight this complaint is ironic, given that although he had some familiarity with Welsh, he was probably unable to speak the language himself.¹⁶⁰ The letter also makes familiar complaints about the greed of bishops and how they have been planted in Welsh sees by violence.¹⁶¹

The misuse of excommunication is another familiar complaint. Hervé, the first royal nomination as Bishop of Bangor (1092–1108), was said to frequently excommunicate his flock.¹⁶² Gerald mentions four examples of excommunication. In the *Itinerarium Kambriae*, Gerald reports that Owain Cyfeiliog, ruler of Powys, had been excommunicated for refusing

¹⁵⁸ C. Insley, 'Kings, Lords, Charters and the Political Culture of Twelfth-century Wales' in C. P. Lewis, ed., *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (2007), pp. 133–53, at pp. 142–3.

¹⁵⁹ Itin. I.1, I.5, II.7 (GCO vi.13–14, 55, 126, *Journey*, p. 75, p.114 and pp.185–6).

¹⁶⁰ Bartlett, *Gerald*, p. 50 and S. Zimmer, 'A Medieval linguist: Gerald de Barri', *Études Celtiques* 35 (2003), 313–50, especially at pp. 347–8.

¹⁶¹ Gemma, II.34 (GCO ii.330–1, *Jewel*, pp. 251–2), De Jure, VII (GCO iii.370). See also Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 49–50.

¹⁶² *Liber Eliensis*, III.1 (*Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, Camden Third Series XCII (London, 1962), pp. 245–6, *Liber Eliensis*, trans. J. Fairweather (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 297), Bartlett, *Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 93 and Chapter 2, p. 74.

to meet Archbishop Baldwin during the preaching tour.¹⁶³ Earlier in the tour Gerald described how Baldwin had requested the exhumation of Owain Gwynedd from Bangor cathedral as he had died excommunicate.¹⁶⁴ Whilst attempting to negotiate a settlement between the Lord Rhys and Richard I, Peter de Leia was captured and held hostage by the sons of the Lord Rhys. Once freed the bishop called a synod and excommunicated the Lord Rhys and his sons.¹⁶⁵ Gerald also describes the excommunication of the Welshmen who had besieged Painscastle in 1198.¹⁶⁶ He is ambivalent in reporting Owain Cyfeiliog's excommunication, describing Owain's character in addition to his sanction. Gerald makes no comment on the request for Owain Gwynedd's exhumation, but it is difficult to imagine that he approved of the incestuous marriage between Owain and his cousin Cristin, who was related to Owain within the degrees of consanguinity prohibited by the Church, that had led to his excommunication.¹⁶⁷ One is tempted to say that the latter two examples are simply opportunities for Gerald to vent invective against Peter de Leia and Hubert Walter. Gerald alleged that Peter de Leia had spread rumours that it was Gerald who was ultimately responsible for the excommunication of Rhys and his sons, which led to Gerald's prebend of the church of Mathri being assaulted by Rhys's sons in revenge.¹⁶⁸ In the same manner, Gerald accused the archbishop of delighting in excommunicating Welsh soldiers.¹⁶⁹ Gerald had such examples in mind when he composed the letter. If the letter is not entirely fraudulent, Gerald may have used it in Rome on his third visit to reinforce his argument or included it in his account of the third visit to Rome to strengthen his written argument.

¹⁶³ Itin. II.12 (GCO vi.144, *Journey*, p. 202). See also Hurlock, *Crusades*, p. 87 and p. 186. For Owain Cyfeiliog see Chapter 4, p. 146, n. 67.

¹⁶⁴ Itin. II.8 (GCO vi.133, *Journey*, p. 192). See also Hurlock, *Crusades*, p. 71 and p.191.

¹⁶⁵ Symb El., XXXI (GCO i.321), Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 91–2.

¹⁶⁶ Inv., I.2 (*Invectioibus*, pp. 91–2), Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 48–9. On this siege see *AoC*, p. 229 and p. 292 and Stephenson, *Powys*, pp. 85–6.

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter 3, pp. 123–4.

¹⁶⁸ Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 91.

¹⁶⁹ Bartlett, *Gerald*, pp. 48–9.

That Innocent III's initial reaction to Gerald's case was to commend care of the diocese to powerful secular lords such as Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and Meiler FitzHenry as well as the Cistercian abbots in Wales and the clergy and general population would seem to confirm Hubert Walter's worries.¹⁷⁰ By March 1202 King John had come to the same conclusion, accusing Gerald of impinging upon the King's dignity in letters patent.¹⁷¹ It is little wonder that Hubert Walter continued to emphasise this objection to Gerald's case.¹⁷² He objected successfully, eventually compelling Gerald to bring his cause to an end and ensuring, by means of an oath prior to his consecration, that the new Bishop of St Davids, Geoffrey of Henlaw, would not raise the issue again.¹⁷³ The extent of the archbishop's victory is demonstrated by the infrequency with which the issue was raised after 1203. The issue of St Davids status was raised once more by Thomas Bek (Bishop of St Davids, 1280–93) in opposition to the visitation of John Pecham (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1279–92) to the diocese of St Davids and was also raised by Owain Glyndŵr in his negotiation with Charles VI of France (1380–1422).¹⁷⁴

Throughout, Gerald's election and the status of St Davids were intertwined.¹⁷⁵ This is apparent from the letter which opened the case for Hubert Walter, with the archbishop

¹⁷⁰ Inv., III.4–6 (*Invectioibus*, pp. 149–50), EAWD i, D.311–14 and *Calendar*, 223–6. The letter was addressed to the noble Llywelyn and other lords in Wales (*nobilibus uiris Lewelino et aliis principibus Wallie*). Richter suggests that these letters represent a broad base of support for Gerald in Wales. See Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 106.

¹⁷¹ EAWD i, D.346. John issued a further letter making similar accusations in September 1203. EAWD i, D.377.

¹⁷² Williams, 'Old Man', pp.13–16.

¹⁷³ De Jure, VII (GCO iii.345) and Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 126. According to Gerald, administering the oath was against the instruction of Innocent III, Gerald criticised the oath in a letter to Gilbert, Prior of Lanthony Secunda and further berates the bishop in another letter for raising the money to travel to Rome to appeal St Davids' status only to decide against going. *Spec. Duorum*, Letter 7.205–10 (pp. 252–3), Letter 8.130–6 (pp. 270–1) and pp. xxix–xxx. For Innocent's letter to the Bishops of Ely and Worcester see below, p. 40, n. 198. For Prior Gilbert's career see D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, V. C. M. London, eds., *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales 1940–1216*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2001), p. 172.

¹⁷⁴ W. Greenway, 'Archbishop Pecham, Thomas Bek and St. David's', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 11 (1960), 152–63, especially, pp. 157–63 and R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995), p. 172. Glyndŵr claimed the same diocese in England for his proposed archbishopric as Gerald had done in his proposed settlement with Hubert Walter. For this settlement, see above, p. 24 n. 105.

¹⁷⁵ On the disputed election, see Cheney, *Innocent III*, pp. 134–40, Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 98–108 and Evans, 'Bishops', pp. 287–9.

arguing that Gerald had been improperly elected.¹⁷⁶ Parallel to Gerald's case is another disputed election in a Welsh see, that of Roland, a subprior of Aberconwy, who claimed that he had twice been canonically elected to Bangor only for others to be consecrated by Hubert Walter.¹⁷⁷ Having made common cause with Roland, before a later estrangement, Gerald is our main witness to his cause.

Both cases offer a glimpse into the system of commission and judges-delegate used to settle such matters. They were initially heard by the same two cardinals, Suffredus and Peter of Capua.¹⁷⁸ Gerald's hearing highlighted inconsistencies in his opponents' evidence, whilst the speech he gave at Roland's hearing is a masterpiece of rhetoric.¹⁷⁹ Gerald presents his facts at the beginning of his oration before proceeding to highlight what he regarded as the mistreatment of the Welsh by English ecclesiastical authorities and the Archbishop of Canterbury 's corrupt practices.¹⁸⁰

Following these hearings, both cases became subject to local inquiries.¹⁸¹ Roland's case was to be examined by prior Josbert of Wenlock and the Prior of Bardsey, with Roland's evidence to be heard in Wales and the evidence of Bishop Robert of Bangor (1197–1212) to be heard in England.¹⁸² Nothing more is heard of Roland's case after the establishment of this

¹⁷⁶ Inv., I.1 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 83–4, *Autobiography*, pp. 167–8).

¹⁷⁷ The case is discussed in EAWD ii, pp. 434–36, Cheney, *Innocent III*, pp. 141–2, Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 265, Rh. W. Hays, 'Rotoland, Subprior of Aberconway, and the Controversy over the see of Bangor, 1999–1204', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 13 (1963), 9–19 and Id., *History*, pp. 25–9.

¹⁷⁸ On these cardinals see Hays, 'Rotoland', pp. 11–12.

¹⁷⁹ De Jure, III (GCO iii.191–3, *Autobiography*, pp. 206–8) and EAWD i, D.329.

¹⁸⁰ De Jure, III (GCO iii.193–4, *Autobiography*, pp. 208–9), and Inv., I.4 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 93–9, *Autobiography*, pp. 209–19).

¹⁸¹ Innocent III issued letters forbidding any interference with the rights of Gerald and Roland to pursue their respective cases. See Inv., III.11–12 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 153–5), EAWD i, D.325–7 and *Calendar*, 336 and 338.

¹⁸² The commission for this letter survives in the register of Innocent III and edited in O. Hageneder, J. C. Moore, A. Sommerlechner with C. Egger and H. Weigl, eds., *Die Register Innocenz' III., 6. Pontifikatsjahr 1203/1204. Texte und Indices*, Publikationen des historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom, 2. Abt., 1. Reihe, Bd. 6: Texte und Indices (Vienna, 1995), 79. See also *Calendar*, 481. Hays tentatively identifies the prior of Bardsey with Lawrence, an emissary of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth sent to strengthen the resolve of the Chapter of St Davids. Hays, 'Rotoland', p. 17 and see above, p. 33.

inquiry.¹⁸³ Given that Robert remained bishop until his death in 1212 the judges presumably ruled against Roland, whose case would not have been helped by being declared a fugitive by the Cistercians' General Chapter in 1202.¹⁸⁴ Gerald referred to Roland once more at the end of his third period in Rome, by which time, they were estranged. He used Roland's example to complain about the lack of faithfulness amongst the Welsh clergy.¹⁸⁵

Gerald, naturally, gives many more details about the inquiries into his own case. Prior to his appearance before the cardinals, there had already been one inquiry into Gerald's case. A notice for this commission into both Gerald's election and the status of St David's is given by Gerald in his *De Jure*, with further reference to *De Invectionibus*. The letter does not survive in this text save in a chapter heading, which names the commissioners as the Bishops of Lincoln, Durham and Ely but gives no further details.¹⁸⁶ The letter does not survive in the registers of Innocent III either, but amongst rubrics of now missing letters, copied in the Fourteenth century, we have a notice regarding Gerald's election which reads as follows: *Lincolniensi, Dunelmiensi et Eliensi Episcopis, quod moveant Archipescopum Cantuariem confirmare et consecrare Electum Menevem: alioquin citent eum, ut apostolico conspectui se presentet.*¹⁸⁷ Gerald elsewhere claims to have appeared before the judges with the documents he had discovered in the register of Eugenius III and at St Davids, and to have secured a statement from them before proceeding to Rome for the second time.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ EAWD ii, p. 436, Hays, 'Rotoland', p. 17.

¹⁸⁴ Cheney, *Innocent III*, p. 141 and Hays, pp. 13–14.

¹⁸⁵ De Jure, V (GCO iii.287, *Autobiography*, pp. 308–9).

¹⁸⁶ *Invectionibus*, p. 77, De Jure, II (GCO iii.182, *Autobiography*, p. 195), EAWD i, D.316. See *Calendar*, 227 and EAWD i, p. 214, although note that Davies has named one of the commissioners as the Bishop of London in error here.

¹⁸⁷ A. Theiner, ed., *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalum historiam illustrantia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1863–75), i. 49. On the missing letters from the register of Innocent III see M. P. Sheehy, ed., *Pontificia Hibernica*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1962–65), p. xxxix.

¹⁸⁸ De Jure, III (GCO iii.188, *Autobiography*, pp. 202–3). See also EAWD i, p. 219.

Owing to the apparent shortcomings of the Archbishop of Canterbury's proctors, the proceedings in both causes in Rome were delayed.¹⁸⁹ The Pope granted a further commission on both matters with the Bishops of Ely and Worcester and the Archdeacon of Buckingham as judges.¹⁹⁰ Gerald was also granted an intriguing letter by Innocent III, ordering the gathering of evidence from older men whose testimony might otherwise be lost regarding the status of St Davids.¹⁹¹ Their evidence is referred to by Gerald in his proposed compromise to Hubert Walter after the hearings before the judges-delegate at St Albans, but are otherwise unattested.¹⁹² It is at this point that Gerald appeared before the cardinals. He then returned to St Davids where he prepared for a series of meetings before the commissioners at, successively, Worcester (January, 1202), Newport (May, 1202), Brackley (June, 1202), Bedford (July, 1202), and St Albans (September, 1202).¹⁹³ The meetings were frequently abortive with at least one of the three named judges absent. The hearings did not go well for Gerald as he had by this point lost the support of the St Davids' chapter. As a result, the judges refused to rule on either the status of St Davids or on Gerald's election, transferring both cases back to Rome.¹⁹⁴

Once arrived, Gerald argued before the consistory several times both for his election and for the status of St Davids. He reiterated his arguments and produced the letter of support from

¹⁸⁹ De Jure, III (GCO iii.189–90, *Autobiography*, p. 204) and Inv. III.16 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 156–7), EAWD i., D.332.

¹⁹⁰ De Jure, III (GCO iii.191, *Autobiography*, p. 206). The text of the commission is again mentioned in a chapter title in *De Invectionibus* but does not survive. *Invectionibus*, p. 77 and EAWD i, D.324. The judges of this commission are not named but assumed from a remark of Gerald's that the judges were sent another letter of Pope Innocent's concerning the literacy of the Abbot of St. Dogmael's. This must refer to the letter sent from Segni on 27 July 1201 in which the judges are named as above. Gerald's remarks on the judges and the dual commission are found in De Jure, III (GCO iii.190, 191 and *Autobiography*, p. 205, p. 206). The letter on Walter of St. Dogmael's is found in Inv., III.15 (*Invectionibus*, p. 156), EAWD i, D.331 and *Calendar*, 343. Davies mistakes the judges of the first commission for the second in EAWD i, p. 219.

¹⁹¹ De Jure, III (GCO iii.194, *Autobiography*, p. 219).

¹⁹² On Gerald's proposed compromise see above, p. 24, n. 105.

¹⁹³ Gerald describes this period in De Jure, III-IV (GCO iii.195–236, *Autobiography*, pp. 221–61). These hearings are detailed in EAWD i, pp. 220–2 and Davies, 'Giraldus', pp. 266–7.

¹⁹⁴ Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 268.

the Welsh princes.¹⁹⁵ It was to little avail, as Gerald's appeal to be confirmed as bishop ended on April 10, 1203, when Pope Innocent ruled against Gerald and the preferred candidate of the King and Archbishop.¹⁹⁶ Richter hints that Innocent's decisions were influenced by his need to appease John diplomatically. Gerald himself discusses that representations were made to the Pope by both King John and Otto of Saxony immediately prior to issuing a judgement regarding the election. Whilst Innocent was doubtless aware of the need to keep John happy, there were plenty of justifiable reasons for declaring Gerald's election invalid.¹⁹⁷ This did not seem like the end of the affair at the time because when it came to rerunning the election, Gerald scored a minor victory. He secured a letter from the Pope to the Bishops of Ely and Worcester, insisting that the newly elected bishop should not take any oath which forbade him from pursuing the matter of St Davids' status.¹⁹⁸

The cause of St Davids remained alive, with Gerald receiving the benefit of papal appeal. Unsatisfied with the conduct of the judges-delegate in the case, he appealed against their decision on procedural grounds and Innocent granted an enforcing letter.¹⁹⁹ The Pope eventually dismissed the judges and appointed three judges from the province of York, rather than Canterbury, to conduct the inquiry.²⁰⁰ This inquiry seems unlikely to have even begun its' work as Gerald had already made his peace with Hubert Walter and King John.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ For Gerald's speech see De Jure, IV (GCO iii.242–3, *Autobiography*, pp. 267–9). For the Welsh princes' letter see above, pp. 32–3.

¹⁹⁶ De Jure, IV (GCO iii.267–8, *Autobiography*, pp. 297–8), EAWD i, D.364 and *Calendar*, 468. See also Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 268.

¹⁹⁷ Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 118–19.

¹⁹⁸ *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, 6, 74, De Jure, V (GCO iii.281–2, *Autobiography*, p. 306), Inv., IV.4 (*Invectionibus*, p. 172), EAWD i, D.365 and *Calendar*, 479. See also Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 124–5 and EAWD i, pp. 227–8.

¹⁹⁹ Inv., III.19 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 159–60), EAWD i, D.368 and *Calendar*, 489.

²⁰⁰ The judges appointed were the Bishop of Durham and the Dean and Prior of Holy Trinity, York. This letter survives in Innocent III's register. *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, 6, 89, De Jure, V (GCO iii.282–4, *Autobiography*, pp. 306–7), EAWD i, D.374, *Calendar*, 494.

²⁰¹ EAWD i, pp. 226–7.

Through Gerald's campaign we see several stages of appeal from initial inquiry, to the testing of evidence in front of judges delegate to the final appeal before the Pope himself.

During his campaign, Gerald made three journeys to Rome and met Innocent III several times. In addition to the great public arguments, Gerald was also granted several more intimate meetings. He first met Innocent around St. Andrew's day in 1199 and presented him with six of his own compositions.²⁰² By J. Conway Davies's reasoning these were the Welsh works, the Irish works, *Gemma Ecclesiastica* and the now lost *Vita* of St. Caradog.²⁰³ Gerald took advantage of this first meeting to demonstrate his wit by stating that whilst some men brought him money (*libras*), Gerald brought him books (*libros*).²⁰⁴ The Pope was seemingly pleased by the presents and kept them by his bedside for a month before sharing them with others. Gerald proudly reported that the Pope had kept hold of *Gemma Ecclesiastica*.²⁰⁵

Gerald records that Innocent was well disposed to him. He describes him as friendly and affable, notes how he greeted him with a kiss at the beginning of his third period in Rome and how he made the Pope laugh.²⁰⁶ On the latter occasion, Gerald believed that he had made some people jealous as he had conversed with Innocent for a long time.²⁰⁷ He also notes Innocent's willingness to defend his character, regardless of what his opponents might say

²⁰² De Reb., III.18 (GCO i.119, *Autobiography*, p. 164).

²⁰³ Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 261, n. 3. Gerald only names *Gemma Ecclesiastica* in his account of the meeting in De Reb. III.18 (GCO i.119, *Autobiography*, p. 165) and De Jure, VII (GCO iii.336). During the pontificate of Celestine III, Gerald had sent copies of the *Topographia Hibernica* and *Descriptio Kambriae* to Rome (Symb El., XXX (GCO i.308) and Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 92, n. 1). Gerald elsewhere mentions that he carried the life of Caradog with him on his first journey to Rome and that he read it to Innocent III (Gerald of Wales, *De Giraldo Archidiacono Menevensi* (GCO i.399) and Inv., IV.9 (*Invectionibus*, p. 177). It seems likely that Gerald's *Vita* is what led to Pope Innocent organising an inquiry into the life of Caradog and whether he was a suitable candidate to become a saint. For the historical Caradog see Davies, *Book*, pp. 125–6 and J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (London, 1939), pp. 591–3.

²⁰⁴ De Reb., III.18 (GCO i.119, *Autobiography*, p. 164–5). Pope Innocent favoured such a play on words himself, see C. R. Cheney, 'The Letters of Pope Innocent III', *Bulletin of the John Ryland Library* 35 (1952–3), 23–43, p. 37. For the gifts, see Sargent, *Visions*, pp. 179–84.

²⁰⁵ De Reb., III.18 (GCO i.119, *Autobiography*, p. 165).

²⁰⁶ De Jure, II and IV (GCO iii.165, 241, 253, *Autobiography*, p. 182, p. 266, p. 280).

²⁰⁷ De Jure, IV (GCO iii.255, *Autobiography*, p. 281).

against him.²⁰⁸ Gerald never missed an opportunity to display the Pope's compliments to him either. He delights in noting how the Pope had publicly called him the elect of St Davids and how soon Gerald would leave Rome after being consecrated bishop.²⁰⁹ Doubtless such comments led to Gerald's listing of reasons why the Pope thought him a suitable candidate to be bishop.²¹⁰

He attempted to take advantage of this friendliness in their private meetings to press his case in the first such meeting he records.²¹¹ When Gerald returned to Rome the second time he proceeded as soon as possible to present his newly discovered evidence to the Pope.²¹² By the time of the final hearings in Rome, Innocent was advising Gerald on how best to proceed with a swift resolution to the case and the best means of dealing with the insults of his opponents.²¹³ With the case of the election ended and Gerald about to give up on the status of St Davids, the Pope still had kind words of consolation for him. Although Gerald could not hide his disappointment in his recorded replies, his tone is still respectful towards the Pope.²¹⁴ One may doubt whether any of these meetings took place as Gerald describes. The last two encounters with Innocent III seem particularly suspect, given that Gerald writes longer eloquent passages for himself and puts shorter sentences in the Pope's mouth. Beyond their use as literary devices, highlighting as they do Gerald's eloquence, these encounters, with the attendant impact of recording such meetings would have on Gerald's audience, portray his respect and admiration for Innocent and the great joy he personally took from association with the papacy.

²⁰⁸ De Jure, IV (GCO iii.266, *Autobiography*, p. 296).

²⁰⁹ De Jure, II and III (GCO iii.176, 195, *Autobiography*, p. 188, p. 220).

²¹⁰ De Jure, II (GCO iii.177–8, *Autobiography*, p. 190).

²¹¹ De Jure, II (GCO iii.165–76, *Autobiography*, pp. 182–8). It is at this meeting that the document identified tentatively by Poole as being a *provinciale* was discussed. See below, p. 43, n. 220.

²¹² De Jure, III (GCO iii.188–9, *Autobiography*, pp. 203–4).

²¹³ De Jure, IV (GCO iii.264–5, 267, *Autobiography*, pp. 294–5, pp. 296–7).

²¹⁴ De Jure, IV and V (GCO iii.271–2, 288–9, *Autobiography*, pp. 302–3, pp. 310–11).

In addition to the political importance of his campaign and the interest of these personal encounters, Gerald records other notable features. One is the use of papal records and correspondence made by him. The use and impact of Innocent's letters has already been discussed, but we also see Gerald receiving Innocent's permission to search in the register of Eugenius III for records of Bernard's campaign.²¹⁵ Gerald also found several documents for consideration at St Davids, including many describing Bernard's campaign.²¹⁶ It was here that Gerald found Eugenius III's letter to Theobald of Bec confirming that Bernard would be bound by his profession of obedience to Canterbury- a copy of the same letter he had already discovered in the register of Eugenius.²¹⁷ These documents were later examined in consistory, with particular emphasis on examining the seal attached to each letter.²¹⁸ After this, the manuscript was examined and the letters' contents verified, in order to ensure that the formulas used were correct and that the letters were not forgeries.²¹⁹ Gerald is also witness to what Poole identified as being either a *provinciale* or an earlier register of Alexander III, which listed the four Welsh sees under a different rubric to those of English sees.²²⁰

²¹⁵ *De Giraldo Archidiacono Menevensi* (GCO i.398), GCO iii.179–81, Inv., IV.2 and IV.9 (*Invectionibus*, p. 166 and pp. 176–7, *Autobiography*, pp. 192–4). The letter discovered by Gerald is the letter from Eugenius to Theobald of Bec confirming that Bernard had lost his personal case. See above, p. 25, n. 110. See also 'EAWD i, p. 218 and Davies, 'Giraldus', pp. 263–4.

²¹⁶ *De Jure*, III (GCO iii.186–8, *Autobiography*, pp. 200–1) and EAWD i, p. 218–19.

²¹⁷ Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 48. For the letter see above, n. 215.

²¹⁸ *De Jure*, III (GCO iii.188, *Autobiography*, p. 203). A similar procedure is described by Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, ed. and trans. J. Sayers and L. Watkiss, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2003), III.iii.299–300. For the case of Evesham at the curia see J. Sayers, 'Petitioners at the Papal Court', in W. Koch, A. Schmid and W. Volkert, eds., *Auxilia Historica: Festschrift für Peter Acht zum 90. Geburtstag* (Munich, 2001), pp. 379–88, at pp. 384–8 and U. Blumenthal, 'Papal registers in the twelfth century', in P. Linehan, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, Monumenta iuris canonici., Series C, Subsidia, 8 (Vatican City, 1988), pp. 135–51, at p. 147.

²¹⁹ R. L. Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 149–50. Forgery of Papal letters seems to have been a problem at the beginning of Innocent III's pontificate. A letter sent during his first year as pope to bishops throughout the Christian world warned that fake letters had been sent in both his name and in the name of Celestine III. The letter drew attention to the false seals that these letters carried. The letter is edited in O. Hageneder and A. Haidacher, eds., *Die Register Innocenz' III., 1. Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199. Texte*, Publikationen der Abteilung für historische Studien des Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom, 2. Abt., 1. Reihe, Bd. 1: Texte, (Graz-Cologne, 1964), 235, and see also *Calendar*, 18. The letter is discussed in Poole, *Papal Chancery*, p. 153.

²²⁰ *De Jure*, II (GCO iii.165–6, *Autobiography*, pp. 182–4). See also Poole, *Papal Chancery*, p. 151 and pp. 193–6, EAWD i, p. 215 and Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 49–50 and p. 112. See also the comments in Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy: From the Conquest to the Reign of John* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 15–17. Poole was very tentative in his identification, and discussed the document with far less confidence than Richter.

Accordingly, Gerald argued, the papacy should treat the Welsh sees separately from those of England. Gerald is also seen to insist on recording the three letters of commission regarding the status of St Davids in a register belonging to Innocent III.²²¹ Each of these incidents shows the emphasis Gerald placed on the importance of evidence for his cause. Perhaps more importantly, we see that a process for ensuring the validity of these documents was in place.

Throughout the case, Gerald gained several benefits from contact with the papacy. He received letters in his favour from Innocent and some cardinals.²²² The most important was the right to administer the bishopric until a new bishop was elected. After the end of Gerald's first period in Rome in May 1200, the Pope conferred these rights and reiterated his position in July 1201 and 1202.²²³ At the same time as the first letter, the Pope wrote to King John and Archbishop Hubert asking them to treat Gerald kindly.²²⁴ With the rights of Canterbury to defend, and with the King wishing to maintain the royal privilege of administering sees during vacancies, neither archbishop nor monarch responded well to Innocent's request.²²⁵

²²¹ *De Giraldo Archidiacono Menevensi* (GCO i.398), Inv., IV.9 (*Invectionibus*, p. 176), EAWD i, p. 226. It is unclear as to exactly which register Gerald refers here, given that the only commission text to survive in the register of Innocent III is that of the third proposed inquiry into the status of St Davids, with the only proof for the other commissions being the contents list of Gerald's *De Invectionibus*. For these, see above, p. 38, nn. 186–8, p. 39 n. 190 and p. 40, n. 200.

²²² The letters are found in Inv., IV.7–8 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 173–5). The first text contains words in Gerald's favour by Ottoviano di Paoli (Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, 1189–1206) and Guido Papareschi (Cardinal Priest of Santa Maria in Trastevere). In the second text, the cardinals urge that the bishops addressed (Eustace of Ely and Mauger of Worcester) should do the right thing by the church of St Davids itself and ignore any external pressure put upon them. The authors are again Bishop Ottoviano, but also John of Viterbo (Cardinal Bishop of Albano, 1199–1210) and Leo (Cardinal Priest of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, 1202–24). For other occasions on which the Bishop of Ostia helped Gerald, see *De Jure*, IV (GCO iii.270, 272, *Autobiography*, p. 300, p. 303) and Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 269.

²²³ *De Jure*, II (GCO iii.179, 184, *Autobiography*, p. 192), Inv., III.1 (*Invectionibus*, p. 147), EAWD i, D.319, *Calendar*, 233. See also Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 114; Inv., III.2 (*Invectionibus*, p. 148), EAWD i, D.322 and *Calendar*, 337; Inv., III.10 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 152–3) and EAWD i, D.330.

²²⁴ Inv., III.8–9 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 151–2), EAWD i, D.318 and D.317 and *Calendar*, 229–30.

²²⁵ Richter, *Giraldus*, pp. 118–20. Richter elsewhere casts doubt over whether Gerald did have any real control over the diocese, drawing attention to the fact that Hubert Walter still had control over the bishopric's income. M. Richter, 'Gerald of Wales: A Reassessment on the 750th Anniversary of His Death', *Traditio* 29 (1973), 379–90, p. 387.

Gerald used these powers at home to his advantage and applied them to his vision of how an archbishop should act. The role of a metropolitan bishop according to Gerald was to consecrate bishops, call councils and restore the lost dignities of his see.²²⁶ With the obvious exception of consecrating another bishop, though he would doubtless have claimed this right had his case been successful, Gerald attempted to enact each of these functions. He attempted to reclaim the apparently lost dignity of St Davids through his case, and also called synods during his time in Wales in 1202. He called four synods in all at Carmarthen, Pembroke, St Davids and Brecon.²²⁷ The first three synods were prevented from taking place, Gerald tells us, as a result of Hubert Walter's instructions. The fourth synod did take place, but Gerald's account of it was contained in the now lost portion of his *De Rebus*.²²⁸ He records one incident from the synod in his *De Jure*, namely that Osbert and Reginald Foliot, two fellow canons of St Davids who opposed Gerald's campaign, arrived with changed terms of reference for the inquiry into the status of St Davids which were to Gerald's disadvantage.²²⁹ This was a blow to Gerald's cause, especially as he had hoped to use the synod to highlight the shortcomings of Walter of St. Dogmael's as a candidate to be bishop.

Gerald was unable to take advantage of his power on this occasion but was successful in his later dealings with Walter of St Dogmael's. Walter had been elected during Gerald's first visit to Rome on the instruction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Gerald claimed that Walter was illiterate, and therefore unsuitable to be bishop.²³⁰ In order to prove the illegitimacy of Walter's candidacy, Gerald secured a letter from Innocent III ordering the testing of Walter's

²²⁶ Prin., I.19 (*Instructione* - Bartlett, pp. 328–9, GCO viii.108).

²²⁷ *De Jure*, IV (GCO iii.215–16, *Autobiography*, p. 140).

²²⁸ Three chapter headings in the list of contents of *De Reb.* point to an account of the Synod may be found in GCO i.11–12. Gerald also refers to this account in *De Jure*, IV (GCO iii.218, 225, *Autobiography*, p. 242, p. 248).

²²⁹ *De Jure*, IV (GCO iii.224–5, *Autobiography*, pp. 247–8).

²³⁰ *Inv.*, I.7 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 106–7), Davies, 'Giraldus', pp. 262–3 and Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 114.

abilities by the Bishop of Ely, Dean of London and Archdeacon of Buckingham.²³¹ The Pope also sent Walter a letter demanding that he return the revenues that he had earned from properties in the diocese which Gerald should have received.²³² Gerald refers to the Pope's orders in a letter to Walter inviting him to the synod at Brecon.²³³ In the same letter, Gerald orders Walter to preach a sermon at the Synod, presumably in order to embarrass him publicly and further demonstrate his unsuitability to be a bishop. The test of Walter's literacy occurred during the hearings before the commissioners at St Albans, where he failed to read letters from the Pope or from a Missal.²³⁴

Some of Gerald's decisions as bishop-elect were later confirmed by Innocent III. He had excommunicated Nicholas Auenel, William FitzMartin and other unspecified people for despoiling Gerald's church at Llanwnda and his prebend of Mathri.²³⁵ Gerald had also seen fit to grant prebends to three men who Richter describes as "the last faithful followers of Giraldus."²³⁶

Other benefits to Gerald included restitution. Gerald claimed to have suffered at the hands of two fellow archdeacons, the aforementioned Osbert and another called Pontius, of St Davids. In response, the Pope wrote to the Bishops of Ely and Worcester and the Archdeacon of Buckingham to ensure that Gerald received restitution and would be treated peaceably in future.²³⁷ The same recipients were addressed in a letter that strengthened support for Gerald

²³¹ See p. 39, n. 190.

²³² Inv., III.14 (*Invectionibus*, p. 155), EAWD i, D.328 and *Calendar*, 340.

²³³ De Jure, IV (GCO iii.216, *Autobiography*, pp. 240–1).

²³⁴ De Jure, IV (GCO iii.234, *Autobiography*, p. 259).

²³⁵ Inv., III.20 (*Invectionibus*, p. 160), EAWD i, D.369 and *Calendar*, 490. Gerald had excommunicated these men during the final hearing at St Albans. See De Jure, IV (GCO iii.235, *Autobiography*, p. 260).

²³⁶ Richter, *Giraldus*, p. 125. Phillip, priest and Canon of St Davids was confirmed the prebend of the church of St Davids as was the deacon Ithenard, whilst a priest called John was confirmed in the church of St. Bride. See Inv., III.21–3 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 160–2), EAWD i, D.371–3 and *Calendar*, 491–3. On Ithenard and his work see Walker, 'Gerald of Wales', pp. 67–8.

²³⁷ Inv., II.3 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 148–9), EAWD i, D.323 and *Calendar*, 343.

against two further adversaries at St Davids, Walter, Abbot of St. Dogmael's, and Reginald Foliot, and demanded that they make restitution to Gerald.²³⁸ Those who had been excommunicated for attacking Gerald's churches were also ordered to provide restitution to him.²³⁹ The long case had been a heavy financial burden for Gerald and he was granted some relief of his expenses by Innocent.²⁴⁰

One final contribution by Gerald remains to be discussed. After his failed campaign, Gerald returned to Rome for a fourth time in c. 1206.²⁴¹ Ambition was not the motivation this time, but pilgrimage. Gerald worried greatly about the effect of worldly corruption on the Church. He had a personal interest in this as he had himself benefited, and had helped another to benefit, from nepotism. When he was Bishop of St Davids, Gerald's uncle David had secured the archdeaconate of Brecon for Gerald. As part of his settlement at the end of the St Davids dispute, Gerald had arranged for the archdeaconry to be transferred to his nephew, also called Gerald.²⁴²

That Gerald felt the need to travel as a pilgrim is significant. The only other individual's pilgrimage to Rome discussed by Gerald is that of Offa of Mercia in his *Vita Ethelberti*.²⁴³ Offa made his journey to Rome, according to Gerald, as part of his atonement for instigating

²³⁸ This is the same letter which ordered the inquiry into the Abbot of St. Dogmael's ability to read, for which see above, p. 39, n. 190.

²³⁹ For this letter, see above, p. 46, n. 235.

²⁴⁰ De Jure, V (GCO iii.284), Inv., III.17 (*Invectionibus*, pp. 157–8), EAWD i, D.375 and *Calendar*, 496.

²⁴¹ Cheney, *Innocent III*, pp. 25–6 and Davies, 'Giraldus', p. 270.

²⁴² On the settlement between Gerald and Hubert Walter see *Spec. Duorum*, pp. xxviii–xxx. Gerald later relates that Innocent III "tolerated" this transaction. *Spec. Duorum*, Letter 7.248–55 (pp. 256–7) and pp. li–lii. For Gerald's nephew see above, p. 18.

²⁴³ Gerald of Wales, *Vita Ethelberti*, ed. M. R. James, 'Two Lives of St. Ethelbert, King and Martyr', *English Historical Review* 32 (1917), 214–41. Gerald based his text on Osbert of Clare's Life of Ethelbert. See Bartlett, 'Rewriting', pp. 601–2, and pp. 607–13.

the murder of Æthelberht.²⁴⁴ Although his crime was not as serious as murder, Gerald clearly felt the need to atone for his sins. It seems likely that penitential pilgrimage to Rome to receive absolution from the Pope was well established in Wales by 1200 and that Gerald would have been familiar with the concept.²⁴⁵

Gerald's account of his pilgrimage is mainly concerned with penance.²⁴⁶ Between Epiphany and the end of Lent he accrued ninety-two years of indulgence by visiting basilicas and attending the stationary masses during Lent as set out, Gerald erroneously claimed, by Gregory the Great (590–604).²⁴⁷ He made the figure one hundred years by becoming a brother of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit, founded on the site of the old *Schola Saxonum* by Innocent III.²⁴⁸ Gerald's account of his visit highlights his credentials as a reformer, emphasising his preoccupation with devotion and the Church. It is in stark contrast to the contemporaneous account of Master Gregorius, whose *De mirabilibus urbis Romae* concentrates on the sites of Ancient Rome.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁴ 'Two Lives of St. Ethelbert, King and Martyr', pp. 229–30. Although it is probable that Offa arranged the death of Æthelberht, it is unknown whether, and perhaps unlikely that, Offa travelled to Rome. See A. T. Thacker, 'Kings, Saints and Monasteries in Pre-Viking Mercia', *Midland History* 10 (1985), 1–25, at pp. 16–18.

²⁴⁵ H. Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 68–9. See also Chapter 3, pp. 109–11.

²⁴⁶ Inv., V.12–13 (*Invectionibus*, p. 192–3, *Autobiography*, pp. 351–2).

²⁴⁷ Inv., V.12 (*Invectionibus*, p. 192, *Autobiography*, p. 351), D. J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change*, Studies in the History of Medieval religion 13 (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 195 and Cheney, *Innocent III*, p. 26. On the origins and development of Roman stationary liturgy see J. F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stationary Liturgy*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228 (Rome, 1987), pp. 144–66, especially pp. 151–2 for why the stationary system was not organised by Pope Gregory.

²⁴⁸ Inv., V.12 (*Invectionibus*, p. 192, *Autobiography*, p. 351) and Birch, *Pilgrimage*, p. 107. On Innocent III's foundation see G. Drossbach, *Christliche caritas als Rechtsinstitut: Hospital und Orden von Santo Spirito in Sassia (1198–1378)*, *Kirchen- und Staatskirchenrecht* 2 (Paderborn, 2005), especially pp. 48–56, Cheney, *Innocent III*, pp. 237–8 and Birch, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 141–3.

²⁴⁹ Master Gregorius, *Narracio de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1970) and id., *The Marvels of Rome*, trans., J. Osborne, *Mediaeval Sources in Translation* 31 (Toronto, 1987).

Describing his final journey to Rome, Gerald does not detail which churches he visited, beyond his comments about following the stational masses.²⁵⁰ In the *Speculum Ecclesiae* however, Gerald describes Rome naming the five principal churches of St. John Lateran, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, Mary Major and St. Lawrence beyond the Walls as well as a list of other churches within and without the walls.²⁵¹ Of these churches it seems likely that Gerald at the very least visited the Lateran, St. Peter's and St. Paul's. He gives details of St. Paul's, the tomb of St. Peter built by Constantine²⁵² and an exhaustive list of relics held at the Lateran.²⁵³ He also discusses the Uronica and Veronica, held by the Lateran and Vatican respectively.²⁵⁴ If Gerald did indeed visit St. Peter's, he would have joined Welshmen there. Gerald noted:

“Of all pilgrimages, they prefer going to Rome, and when they reach St. Peter's they pray there most devoutly.”²⁵⁵

Gerald also testifies to the presence of many Welsh pilgrims during his second visit to the city in 1201.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁰ Perhaps our best guides to some of the churches Gerald may have visited are the *Gesta pauperis scholaris Albini* compiled by Cardinal Albinus c.1188 and *Liber Censuum* compiled by Cencius Camerarius (the future Honorius III (1216–27)) c. 1192. Both list a number of churches which the Pope should visit between the Epiphany and Easter. See P. Fabre, and L. Duchesne, eds., *Le Liber censuum de l'Église Romaine*, 3 vols., (Paris, 1889–1952), i, pp. 292–9 and ii, pp. 128–32. On the *Liber Censuum* and its importance see S. Weiß, ‘The Curia: Camera’, in A. A. Larson and K. Sisson, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 70 (Leiden, 2016), pp. 220–38, at pp. 229–31. See also G. G. Willis, *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London, 1968), pp. 41–9.

²⁵¹ Spec. Eccl., IV.2 and IV.10 (GCO iv.269–70, 283). A comparable list is found in the Book of Llandaf. See J. G. Evans and J. Rhys, eds., *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv reproduced from the text of the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford, 1893; rev. imp Aberystwyth, 1979), p. 25 and Chapter 2, pp. 63–5.

²⁵² Spec. Eccl., IV.5 (GCO iv.276–7). In a later chapter Gerald attempts to give the measurement of each basilica. Spec. Eccl., IV.10 (GCO iv.283–4).

²⁵³ Spec. Eccl., IV.3–4 (GCO iv.272–6) and Birch, *Pilgrimage*, p. 111. An error occurs in Birch's text throughout, as she states that Gerald's pilgrimage occurred in 1204. It is unclear exactly when Gerald visited Rome, but based on Gerald's remarks in *De Invectionibus*, it seems more likely to have occurred in 1206 or 1207. See Inv., V.12 (*Invectionibus*, p. 192).

²⁵⁴ Spec. Eccl., IV.6 (GCO iv.278–80) and Birch, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 114–15.

²⁵⁵ Descr. I.18 (GCO vi.203, *Journey*, p. 253).

²⁵⁶ De Jure, II (GCO iii.193, *Autobiography*, p. 208).

During the visit, Gerald again met Innocent III.²⁵⁷ Gerald presented care of his churches to Innocent in repentance for the worldly influence by which he had gained control of them.²⁵⁸ The Pope forgave him, returned the churches to Gerald and advised him how to govern the churches in his charge and how to live a better spiritual life. Gerald was relieved to receive the Pope's blessing and ends with a poignant plea to the "diligent reader" to consider whether Gerald's efforts had been in vain. In Gerald's writings, we gain a glimpse of how a pilgrim might experience Rome at the end of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Through all this we see the scope of Gerald's contribution to our understanding of Welsh relations with the papacy in the medieval period. Having been both an agent and a supplicant of the papacy, Gerald provides a unique insight into this relationship. As one educated in Paris and therefore familiar with contemporary conceptions of the papacy, Gerald provides an insight beyond the reach of Welsh sources. As a supplicant before Innocent III, with the apparent backing of some Welsh princes, Gerald acted as a representative of Welsh political ambition before the papacy. In his writings Gerald utilised history and pseudo-history to demonstrate his knowledge of the papacy and always treated the writings of Popes as authoritative, whether he quoted short remarks or letters. Throughout all this, as Williams noted: "No one could mistake the unbounded respect [Gerald] cherished for the Pope and his Curia."²⁵⁹ He contributes to our understanding of legatine work and indicates the importance of the Pope's role as a symbol of authority. His desire for redemption through pilgrimage is echoed elsewhere in Welsh sources. In short, Gerald is a microcosm of the relationship between the Welsh politics and ecclesiastical organisations and the papacy in the medieval period.

²⁵⁷ Inv., V.13 (*Invectionibus*, p. 193, *Autobiography*, p. 352).

²⁵⁸ Richter highlights that this was in imitation of Thomas Becket. See *Spec. Duorum*, p. xxxii.

²⁵⁹ Williams, 'Old Man', p. 17.

CHAPTER 2: WALES IN PAPAL DOCUMENTS

Gerald of Wales represents the mainstream view of the papacy. Between his formal education and personal reflections, we see the papacy as a powerful body capable of administering justice and providing restitution. Examining the extent to which this ideal was reflected in Welsh contact with the Holy See should begin with papal documents concerned with Wales. Documents held at the Vatican Archives and those which survive at other archives were considered. Consultation of the papal registers held at the Vatican Archives allowed me to check the accuracy of the relevant entries printed in the calendar of papal registers.¹

The papacy may have begun conserving records as early as the fourth century.² There is stronger evidence for the time of Leo I (440–61) and certain evidence for the existence of a register by the time of Gregory I (590–604).³ An archive was formed and travelled with the itinerant papacy. By the mid-seventh century the Archives had found their first permanent home near the Lateran palace.⁴ Some of the Archives continued to travel. Innocent IV (1243–54), for instance, took part of the Archives to the First Council of Lyon in 1245 and it remained in the care of Cluny Abbey for some time.⁵ Further movements of the Archives included stays at Perugia and Assisi.⁶ Following the move to Avignon in the fourteenth century some records were kept there and approximately 500 volumes remained there as late

¹ W. H. Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 1: 1198–1304* (London, 1893). Errors and omissions from Bliss's work, are noted below p. 68, n. 104, p. 78, n. 169 and p. 86, n. 208.

² M. P. Sheehy, ed., *Pontificia Hibernica*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1962–65), i., p. xxx.

³ L. E. Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Toronto, 1972, rev. ed. 2001), p. 103 and A. Meyer, 'The Curia: The Apostolic Chancery', in A. A. Larson and K. Sisson, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 70 (Leiden, 2016), pp. 239–58, p. 253.

⁴ Boyle, *Survey*, p. 7. This said, the archive was kept for some time at the basilica of St. Laurentius in Parsina during the Fourth century. See J. Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages 476–752* (London, 1979), p. 290.

⁵ Boyle, *Survey*, p. 7.

⁶ Boyle, *Survey*, pp. 7–8.

as 1783.⁷ At the command of Napoleon, the Archives were transferred to Paris in 1810.⁸

Although much of the Archives has returned (some original papal registers are now kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), they suffered great losses on the journey with one boatload of documents ending up at the bottom of Lake Garda and others going astray in France or being deliberately destroyed.⁹

With the Vatican Library's founding by Nicholas V (1447–55), a distinction began to be made between literary and documentary material.¹⁰ In the succeeding century Pius IV (1559–65), promoted the idea of a central archive of the Church to be held in the Vatican palace. He and his successors, Pius V (1566–72) and Paul V (1605–21), encouraged the return of documents associated with the papacy to the Archives.¹¹ It was during the latter's pontificate that the main part of the *Registra Vaticana*, from which most of the Vatican Archives documents under discussion here are taken, arrived in the Archives.¹² The contents of this original core with later additions are described thus by Leslie MacFarlane: "The Vatican Archives contain the diplomatic and administrative correspondence of the Holy See, and are mainly a vast collection of the working records emanating from, and received by, the various departments of the papal Curia."¹³

The papal chancery produced several kinds of documents but the most common were the "privilege" and the "letter". The "privilege" was used to grant or confirm rights of property

⁷ Material began to be returned to Rome following the schism's end during the period 1419–22. The returned volumes continued to travel with the papacy to Church councils. Boyle, *Survey*, p. 8 and p. 11.

⁸ L. MacFarlane, 'The Vatican Archives', *Archives* 4 (1959), 29–44, 84–101, at p. 30.

⁹ Boyle, *Survey*, p. 11.

¹⁰ Boyle, *Survey*, p. 9.

¹¹ Boyle, *Survey*, pp. 9–10, P. M. Baumgarten, 'The Vatican Secret Archives', in E. Begni, J. C. Grey and T. J. Kennedy, eds., *The Vatican: Its History - Its Treasures* (New York, 1914), pp. 473–97, at p. 478.

¹² Boyle, *Survey*, p. 10. Five documents are taken from the *collectoriae*, a series of papal tax accounts. For the *collectoriae* see *ibid.*, pp. 165–8 and MacFarlane, 'Vatican Archives', p. 41.

¹³ MacFarlane, 'Vatican Archives', p. 29, n. 1.

and jurisdiction.¹⁴ Letters were originally simpler documents used for administration, but grew in importance during the twelfth century, which led to their being further classified into two groups- *littere de gratia* and *littere de iustitia*.¹⁵ The former “grant or confirm rights, confer benefices, promulgate statutes or decrees or decide causes” whilst the latter “convey the Pope’s administrative orders, by injunction or prohibition or by the appointment of some commissioners to carry out some definite work; they include also the mass of his official correspondence on matters of all sorts, both political and administrative.”¹⁶

As the number of petitioners increased, particularly after the pontificate of Alexander III (1159–81), the bureaucracy needed to produce and record the letters increased in complexity.¹⁷ Greater emphasis was placed on the use of formularies in writing letters.¹⁸ The need to guard against forgeries grew, with several Popes following Alexander III in issuing guidance on detecting them. These guidelines emphasised external features such as the seal and cord and the document’s internal features.¹⁹

Given the amount of travel, allied with the usual disasters that may affect archives, it is remarkable that any documents survive. This is especially true given that records only began

¹⁴ The privilege and its form is detailed by Sheehy in *PH*, i., pp. xvi–xvii and see also Meyer, ‘Chancery’, p. 242.

¹⁵ R. L. Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 115–18, *PH*, i. pp. xvii–xix and C. R. Cheney, ‘England and the Roman Curia under Innocent III’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 18 (1967), 173–86, at p. 177.

¹⁶ Poole, *Lectures*, p. 116 and p. 117, Meyer, ‘Chancery’, p. 242 and *PH*, i. p. xvii. See also R. Somerville, ed., *Scotia Pontificia* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 12–13.

¹⁷ Meyer, ‘Chancery’, p. 250, A. Perron, ‘The bishops of Rome, 1100–1300’, in M. Rubin and W. Simons, eds., *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100–c. 1500* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 22–38, at pp. 29–31 and *PH*, i. pp. xix–xxiv and pp. xxxi–xxxiv. See also J. E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)*, Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought, Third series 21 (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 15–49.

¹⁸ Meyer, ‘Chancery’, pp. 254–6 and *PH*, i. pp. xxiv–xxvi.

¹⁹ U. Blumenthal, ‘Papal registers in the twelfth century’, in P. Linehan, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, Monumenta iuris canonici., Series C, Subsidia, 8 (Vatican City, 1988), pp. 135–51, at pp. 145–9, *PH*, i. pp. xxviii–xxix. See also C. R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, Pápste und Papsttum 9 (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 110–12, Sayers, *Honorius*, pp. 122–5 and Chapter 1, p. 43.

to be recorded on parchment, rather than papyrus, in the early eleventh century.²⁰ That the earliest continuous records survive from the time of Innocent III (1198–1216) should not be a surprise as he appears to have been the first Pope to regularise papal record keeping.²¹ These are mainly part of the *Registra Vaticana*, a series which runs until the registers of Clement VIII (1592–1605).²² They contain letters sent, and occasionally received, by the papacy. The registers are divided for each pontificate and then further divided by a book for each year of a pontificate.²³ Only two collections of documents from before Innocent III's time survive in the current Vatican Archives.²⁴ One is an eleventh-century copy of the register of John VIII (872–882) for the last six years of his pontificate, the other an incomplete copy of those for the reign of Gregory VII (1073–85).²⁵ We have a limited idea of what the original registers were like before the pontificate of Gregory VII, but we know that they were utilised for standard phrases, accumulating legal proof and setting precedents.²⁶

Not all letters were registered by the chancery.²⁷ Cheney draws attention to the 36 papal letters in the bishopric of Glasgow's *registrum* from the thirteenth century, but that only one

²⁰ Boyle, *Survey*, p. 7 and *PH*, i. p. xv.

²¹ Boyle, *Survey*, p. 7, MacFarlane, 'Vatican Archives', p. 30.

²² MacFarlane, 'Vatican Archives', p. 33; the medieval holdings are summarised most succinctly in J. Sayers, 'The Vatican Archives, the Papal registers and Great Britain and Ireland: the Foundations of Historical Research' in P. Hoskin, C. Brooke and B. Dobson, eds., *The Foundation of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 27 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 194–209, pp. 196–7.

²³ *PH*, i. pp. xxx–xxxii.

²⁴ On the fragments of registers from the twelfth century see Blumenthal, 'Papal registers'.

²⁵ Meyer, 'Chancery', p. 253, Boyle, *Survey*, p. 103, MacFarlane, 'Vatican Archives', p. 30 and Poole, *Lectures*, pp. 33–5 and pp. 85–6. The earliest extant original letter dates from 788. *PH*, i. p. xv and Poole, *Op. cit.*, p. 37. The register of John VIII was edited in E. Caspar and G. Laehr, eds., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae 7 Karolini Aevi 5* (Berlin, 1912–28). The register of Gregory VII is found in E. Caspar, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Selectae 2 Das Register Gregors VII* (Berlin, 1920–23) and translated in H. E. J. Cowdrey, trans., *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085* (Oxford, 2002).

²⁶ Meyer, 'Chancery', p. 253, *PH*, i. p. xxx, Baumgarten, 'Vatican', p. 474. See also Blumenthal, 'Papal registers', pp. 142–5.

²⁷ P. Zutshi, 'Petitioners, popes, proctors: the development of Curial institutions, c. 1150–1250' in G. Andenna, ed., *Pensiero e sperimentazioni istituzionali nella societas christiana (1046–1250)*, *Atti della sedicesima Settimana di studio, Mendola, 26–31 agosto 2004*, (Milan, 2007), 265–93, at pp. 288–90 and *PH*, i. p. xxxi. See also the wide-ranging discussion on registration in Sayers, *Honorius*, pp. 65–93.

is to be found in the papal registers.²⁸ Similarly, Meyer notes that the notary Ciabattus transcribed eighty-one papal letters in his personal registers between the pontificates of Gregory IX (1227–41) and Gregory X (1271–76), but only one of these is found in a papal register.²⁹ Referring to the work of Franco Guerello, Sheehy drew attention to estimates of between 0% and 23% of letters being registered, that is to say “of every 100 documents found [at non Vatican Archives] between 77 and 100 of them were not registered.”³⁰ That letters were not always registered might explain why Gerald of Wales insisted on having letters regarding the status of St Davids entered in the register of Innocent III.³¹

Relevant documents also survive outside the Vatican Archives. Many survive because they were associated with some great cause, such as the letters that were copied into *Liber Landavensis*, the Book of Llandaff, as part of the campaign by Bishop Urban of Llandaff (1107–34) to expand his diocesan boundaries.³² As we have seen, Gerald of Wales conserved numerous letters in his writings on the twin campaigns about his disputed election as Bishop of St Davids and raising the see to metropolitan dignity. Letters of Alexander III concerning the election of a Bishop of Bangor survive because they were amongst the letters of Thomas Becket.³³ Letters also survive in the archives of ecclesiastical establishments such as Margam Abbey.³⁴ Documents confirming land in Wales for ecclesiastical establishments beyond its borders are also preserved for this reason.³⁵ Notices of several documents also survive in

²⁸ C. R. Cheney, *The Study of the Medieval Papal Chancery*, The Edwards Lectures 2 (Glasgow, 1966), p. 15.

²⁹ Meyer, ‘Chancery’, p. 240.

³⁰ See *PH*, i. p. xxxviii, n. 4.

³¹ See Chapter 1, p. 44.

³² See below, pp. 63–5.

³³ See below, pp. 75–6.

³⁴ All documents from Margam discussed here are found edited in G. T. Clark, ed., *Cartae et Alia Munimenta Quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia Pertinent*, 6 vols. (Cardiff, 1886–1910), volume ii. Remarkably, some of the attendant *bullae* survive in the same collection. See D. H. Williams, *Images of Welsh History: Seals of the National Library of Wales* (Aberystwyth, 2007), p. 41 and id., *Catalogue of seals in the National Museum of Wales* (Cardiff, 1993), p. 66.

³⁵ See below, pp. 61–3.

Llyfr Coch Asaph, The Red Book of Asaph, a source originating in the fourteenth century that has not survived in its original form. Five transcriptions of extracts from the text survive as well as the *Summa Libri Rubei Asaphensis*, compiled in 1602, from which the original manuscript's contents as well as some extracts are known. The original contained documents relevant for the history of the see of St Asaph from the first quarter of the thirteenth century to the second half of the fourteenth century, with the majority of documents dating from the episcopates of Anian II ap Ynyr (1268–93) and Llywelyn of Bromfield (1293–1314).³⁶

In total, 372 items of correspondence concerning the Welsh in the period before the Edwardian conquest or sent to recipients within Welsh dioceses survive. They are as follows:

Source and date	Number of documents
Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 1198–1283	287 ³⁷
Other than Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 1198–1283	52 ³⁸
Other than Archivio Segreto Vaticano, pre 1198	62 ³⁹
Total	372

³⁶ O. E. Jones, *Llyfr Coch Asaph: A Textual and Historical study* (University of Wales, MA thesis, 1968), i. pp. i–xlvi and R. I. Jack, *Medieval Wales* (London, 1972), pp. 131–2. Several papal letters are known only from the *Summa*, and only a few details of their contents remain. They are often undatable or beyond the scope of this work. See Jones, *Llyfr Coch Asaph*, i, p. 53, p. 56, p. 83, p. 86 and p. 151.

³⁷ This project considered all the holdings of the Archives for documents produced before the capture of Dafydd ap Gruffudd in 1283, but also examined the registers of Martin IV (1281–85) in their entirety. A further four documents concerning Wales were issued after the capture of Dafydd. Three letters from this total concern Gerald of Wales and are discussed in Chapter 1.

³⁸ Twenty-six of these letters are preserved in the work of Gerald of Wales, and discussed in Chapter 1.

³⁹ Three of these letters are preserved in the work of Gerald of Wales, and discussed in Chapter 1.

Amongst the documents kept at the Vatican Archives, one may further observe the following divisions:

Division	Number of documents
Documents concerning the realm of England or the province of Canterbury	124
Documents which name Wales, but provide no relevant information	58
Documents directly concerned with Welsh affairs	105
Total	287

There is little of specifically Welsh interest in the largest of these groups. These letters were addressed either to all suffragan bishops in the province of Canterbury or to all bishops, all the faithful, all men or to a specific religious order in the realm of England. It seems likely that many of these letters made their way to Welsh polities because there is no consistent distinction between Wales and England, unlike the more common distinction between England, Ireland and Scotland. Not distinguishing between Wales and England caused a small problem for Innocent III when he threatened to place England under an interdict during the reign of King John (1199–1216). The first letter threatening an interdict, which did not mention Wales explicitly, was issued in August 1207. At the request of Mauger (Bishop of

Worcester, 1199–1212), Innocent III clarified the situation by reissuing the letter in November 1207, this time mentioning Wales.⁴⁰

Other letters mention Wales as a separate entity but provide little or no information about Welsh concerns. Innocent IV made the distinction in three letters addressed to the Bishop of Worcester concerning the crusade.⁴¹ Urban IV (1261–64) also made the distinction in five of his letters of introduction and instruction for the tax collector Master Leonard, cantor of Messina and papal chaplain during his time in England.⁴² Most of the letters which mark the difference are the letters of authority and instruction associated with Clement IV (1265–68). Twenty-one letters sent to his legate Ottobuono mention Wales,⁴³ five are concerned with the papal tax collector Master Sinicius,⁴⁴ whilst a further twenty-four were sent to him during his time as legate in England when he was known as Guy le Gros.⁴⁵ The difference from

⁴⁰ For the first letter see R. Murauer, and A. Sommerlechner, with O. Hageneder, C. Egger, and H. Weigl, *Die Register Innocenz' III., 10. Pontifikatsjahr 1207/1208. Texte und Indices*, Publikationen des historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom, 2. Abt., 1. Reihe, Bd. 10: Texte und Indices (Vienna, 2007), 113, C. R. Cheney, and W. H. Semple, eds. and trans., *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England (1198–1216)* (London, 1953), 30, *Calendar*, 763, and CPR, p. 29. For the second letter see Reg. Inn. III, x.161, Cheney, *Selected*, 31, *Calendar*, 770, CPR, p. 30, and EAWD, ii, L.272. See also Chapter 1, p. 11, n. 18.

⁴¹ Respectively E. Berger, ed., *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, 4 vols., Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 2nd ser. i (Paris, 1884–1921), 2959, 2960 and 2962, *PH*, 284–5 and CPR, pp. 234–5. On these letters see K. Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, c. 1095–1291*, Studies in Welsh History 33 (Cardiff, 2011), p. 202 and W. E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327*, Studies in Anglo-Papal relations during the Middle Ages 1 (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 435–6.

⁴² J. Guiraud, L. Dorez and S. Clemenzet, eds., *Les registres d'Urban IV*, 4 vols., Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 2nd ser. xiii (Paris, 1892–1958), 3, 129–32, W. E. Lunt, *Papal Revenue in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., Records of Civilization 19 (New York, 1934), 473, CPR, p. 380 and p. 383 and EAWD i, D.652. Reg. Urban IV, 129 and 131 are unedited and taken from, respectively, Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV) Registra Vaticana (Reg. Vat.) 27, f. 31r–v and f. 32r.

⁴³ Only a few of these documents are edited, with these being E. Jordan, ed., *Les registres de Clement IV*, Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 2nd ser. xi (Paris, 1893–1945), 43, 115, 116, 324 and CPR, p. 426, pp. 429–30 and pp. 432–3. The unedited documents are respectively Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 32, ff. 8v–9r, 10v–11v, 12v–13r, 23v–24r, 61r–62r and 63r, Reg. Clement IV, 40, 48, 50, 55, 56, 69–71, 73, 120–2, 228, 230, 234–5, and CPR, pp. 426–33. Another unedited letter of instruction to the legate is repeated in several manuscripts Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 31, 19v–20r, Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 33, 21ra–21va, Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 34, 27v–28v and Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 35, 22v–23r, Reg. Clement IV, 986 and CPR, p. 419.

⁴⁴ Reg. Clement IV, 764, 765, 767, 771, 782, CPR, pp. 423–4 and see also P. C. Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland: Legates, Nuncios and Judges-Delegate 1125–1286*, Stair Society 45 (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 105. For Sinicius see Lunt, *Papal Revenue*, p. 43.

⁴⁵ The edited letters are Reg. Urban IV, 581, 586–8 and CPR, p. 396. The unedited letters are Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 28, ff. 56r–58r, 59r–61v, Reg. Urban IV, 582–3, 589–90, 593, 600, 602, 607–9, 611–12, 614–15, 617, 620, 624–5, 627, 629–30 and CPR, pp. 396–400.

previous and subsequent practice is explained by the fact that he had spent time in England immediately before his election as Pope, becoming aware of the distinctions and tensions in the years preceding the Second Barons' War. The most useful thing to be said of these two groups is that it is through them that appeals for assistance in the wider Church (such as appeals for assistance in the Holy Land),⁴⁶ declarations for the whole Church (such as the excommunication of Emperor Frederick by Gregory IX)⁴⁷ or notifications of papal approval for activities within the wider Province of Canterbury (such as the letters associated with the translation of Thomas Becket's relics issued by Honorius III (1216–27)) reached the Welsh polities.⁴⁸

These documents show the papacy exercising its jurisdiction and authority. It was to be obeyed when instructions were issued, but could assist in resolving disputes or problems. In this, the Welsh experience seems no different from that of other parts of Europe. It would be surprising if that were not the case given ever-increasing papal activity from the age of Innocent III onwards.⁴⁹ Some cases however do provide illuminating details about medieval Wales. Let us first turn to the common experiences.

Many institutions wished to associate themselves with papal power by receiving confirmation of land grants. They wished to secure their rights and there could be no higher authority on

⁴⁶ One example is a letter for assistance in the Holy Land issued by Gregory X. See J. Guiraud, and E. Cadier, eds., *Les registres de Grégoire X (1272–1276) et de Jean XXI (1276–1277)*, 2 vols., Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 2nd ser. xii (Paris, 1892–1960), Reg. Greg. X, 569 and CPR, p. 449.

⁴⁷ L. Auvray, ed., *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, 4 vols., Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 2nd ser. ix (Paris, 1890–1955), 5102 and CPR, p. 188.

⁴⁸ The letters concerning the translation of Thomas Becket's relics are found in Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 10, ff. 55v–56r, P. Pressutti, ed., *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888–1895, repr. Hildesheim, 1978) 1830, 1840–1 and CPR, p. 62. See also S. L. Reames, 'Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket', *Speculum* 80 (2005), 118–170.

⁴⁹ On the papacy at this time see Perron, *Op. cit.*, and K. Sisson, 'Popes over Princes: Hierocratic Theory', in A. Larson and K. Sisson, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 70 (Leiden, 2016), pp. 121–32, at pp. 129–31.

earth than the head of the Church. Institutions looked to the papacy as the ultimate guarantor of their rights and property.⁵⁰ Many letters are concerned with land and churches held in Wales. The brothers of Llanthony Prima, initially under the influence of their former prior, Robert de Béthune (Bishop of Hereford, 1131–48), sought confirmation of their possessions from Innocent II (1130–43) and Eugenius III (1145–53).⁵¹ Three similar confirmations were granted to Margam Abbey.⁵² Strata Florida was confirmed in possession of a grant of land and given privileges by Alexander III.⁵³ Urban III confirmed properties to Monmouth priory, whilst lands belonging to St. John's Priory, Brecon were confirmed twice by Innocent III and Honorius III.⁵⁴ The latter also confirmed a grant by Bishop Reiner of St Asaph (1186–1224) of half the church of Wrexham to Valle Crucis Abbey in 1223.⁵⁵ A confirmation of a grant of

⁵⁰ Institutions connected with Wales were certainly not unique in this way. There are, for instance, several examples from Scotland for a selection of which see M. Hammond, 'Introduction: The paradox of medieval Scotland, 1093–1286', in M. Hammond, ed., *New perspectives on medieval Scotland 1093–1286* (Woodbridge, 2013) Studies in Celtic History 32, 1–52, at p. 20 and A. D. M. Barrell, 'Scotland and the Papacy in the Reign of Alexander II' in R. Oram, ed., *The Reign of Alexander II, 1214–49* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 157–77, at pp. 162–4.

⁵¹ W. Holtzmann, ed., *Papsturkunden in England*, 3 vols. (Berlin 1930–52), i.16, 26, 35 and EAWD D.83, D.118 and D. 130. For Bishop Robert see 'Bishops', in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 8, Hereford*, ed. J. S. Barrow (London, 2002), pp. 1–7. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol8/pp1-7> [accessed 14 April 2016] and for Llanthony Prima see J. Burton, and K. Stöber, *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 2015), pp. 128–34.

⁵² The confirmations were issued by Urban III (1185–87), Innocent III and Alexander IV (1254–61). *Papsturkunden in England*, i.236 and EAWD ii, L.202; Clark, *Cartae*, CCLXXXII, W. de G. Birch, *A History of Margam Abbey* (London, 1897; facsimile ed. West Glamorgan/Llandybïe, 1997), pp. 171–4, EAWD ii, L.259, *Calendar*, 518 and J. E. Sayers, *Original Papal Documents in England and Wales from the Accession of Pope Innocent III to the Death of Pope Benedict XI (1198–1304)* (Oxford, 1999) 28; Clark, *Cartae*, DCII, Birch, *History*, pp. 271–2, EAWD ii, L.496 and *Original*, 641. The letters of Innocent III and Alexander IV also conferred rights on Margam. For Margam Abbey see *AP*, pp. 137–43, and for the lands confirmed by Innocent III and Alexander IV see M. Griffiths, 'Native society on the Anglo-Norman frontier: The Evidence of the Margam Charters', *WHR* 14 (1988–89), 179–216.

⁵³ For this Bull, see Chapter 3, pp. 113–14.

⁵⁴ P. Marchengay, ed., *Les Prieurés Anglais de Saint-Florent près Saumur* (Les Roches Baritaud, 1879) and EAWD ii, L.203; R. W. Banks, 'Cartularium Prioratus S. Johannis Evang. de Brecon', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Fourth Series, XIII (1882), 275–308, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Fourth Series, XIV (1883), 18–49, 137–68, 221–36, 274–311, at volume XIV, p. 291 and EAWD i, D.417. Only a notification of this confirmation survives. For Monmouth Priory and Brecon Priory see respectively *AP*, pp. 144–6 and 57–60. The connection between Monmouth and the Benedictine Abbey of St-Florent-de-Saumur are further exemplified through the calendar of saints' feast days in the *Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium* (British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A. xiv), for which see S. M. Harris, 'The Calendar of the *Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium*', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 3 (1953), 3–53, at pp. 6–12 and pp. 26–7.

⁵⁵ Jones, *Llyfr Coch Asaph*, i. p. 111 and ii, p. 139. Only a record of Honorius's confirmation survives, dated 16 *Kalendas Januarii, Potnificatus sui anno 7*. Three other letters were sent by Honorius III on this date (17 December 1222), but this confirmation is unrecorded. See *Reg. Hon. III*, ii, p. 102. For Valle Crucis, see *AP*, pp. 213–17.

land to the Abbot and convent of Tintern Abbey was the first item of the eleventh year of Innocent IV's reign.⁵⁶

Land and churches in Wales were confirmed to institutions outside Wales.⁵⁷ Sherborne Priory was confirmed in possession of St. Mary, Cydweli and of other churches in Wales by Alexander III.⁵⁸ He confirmed St Peter's Abbey, Chertsey in possession of churches in and near Cardigan, a grant further confirmed by Alexander IV.⁵⁹ Alexander III appears to be confirming part of a grant to Chertsey made by Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth (d. 1197), who may have been reaffirming a grant to Chertsey by the Clare lords. The confirmation by Alexander IV may have been prompted by research following a serious fire at Chertsey in 1235.⁶⁰ Alexander III also confirmed unspecified lands in Wales and the March to the Abbot and monks of Reading.⁶¹ The prior and monks of St Andrew's Priory, Stogursey were confirmed in possession of several properties including the right to the tithe of the church of Llangybi in Monmouthshire by Innocent III.⁶² Honorius III confirmed lands to Hereford cathedral, including some adjacent to Llanthony Prima and an estate in Brecknockshire to

⁵⁶ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 23, f. 1r, Reg. Inn. IV, 6820 and CPR, p. 288. For Tintern Abbey, see *AP*, pp. 204–9.

⁵⁷ Lloyd discusses a number of examples from this and the succeeding paragraph when describing the Norman “conquest” of the Church in South Wales. J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (London, 1939), ii, pp. 430–2.

⁵⁸ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols. (London, 1817–30), i, pp. 339–40 and EAWD i, D.167.

⁵⁹ *Papsturkunden in England*, i.172; E. M. Pritchard, *Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days* (London, 1904), pp. 37–40, 149–51.

⁶⁰ H. E. Malden, ‘The Possession of Cardigan Priory by Chertsey Abbey: A Study in Some Mediaeval Forgeries’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5 (1911), 141–56, and B. Golding, ‘Trans-border Transactions: Patterns of Patronage in Anglo-Norman Wales’, in S. Morillo and D. Korngiebel, eds., *The Haskins Society Journal* 16 (2005) (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 27–46 at pp. 44–6. For the grant by Rhys ap Gruffudd see H. Pryce with C. Insley, eds., *The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1120–1283* (Cardiff, 2005), 26 and especially the comments on pp. 169–70. See also *Charters of Chertsey Abbey*, ed. S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters 19 (Oxford, 2015), p. 33.

⁶¹ *Papsturkunden in England*, iii.300. Pope Alexander also confirmed Reading in possession of Leominster, the Isle of May and other possessions in Scotland.

⁶² See. O. Hageneder, A. Sommerlechner, and H. Weigl, with C. Egger, and R. Murauer, eds., *Die Register Innocenz' III., 7. Pontifikatsjahr 1204/1205. Texte und Indices*, Publikationen des historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom, 2. Abt., 1. Reihe, Bd. 7: Texte und Indices (Vienna, 1997), 88, *PH*, 60, *Calendar*, 565, and *Original*, 30.

Malvern Major Priory.⁶³ He further confirmed an indult to the Abbot and monastery of Tewkesbury by “W. and H., bishops of Llandaff”, concerning the church of St. Mary in Cardiff, a grant further confirmed by Gregory IX in 1230.⁶⁴ The H. is certainly Henry of Abergavenny (Bishop of Llandaff, 1193–1218) but the W. could be William of Saltmarsh (Bishop of Llandaff, 1186–91) or William of Goldcliff (Bishop of Llandaff, 1219–29).⁶⁵ The latter was the subject of papal correspondence through the papal legate Pandulf who notified Henry III of his election.⁶⁶

The letters confirm land in Wales to institutions outside the British Isles. These include the confirmation of land to Letard, Abbot of Bec, by Lucius II (1144–45), and of churches in the diocese of Llandaff.⁶⁷ The income of the church of St. Mary, Abergavenny was confirmed to the Abbey of St. Vincent, Le Mans by Innocent III.⁶⁸ Between 1239 and the Edwardian conquest, nine documents concerned the grant of St. Leonard’s church, Magor by Gilbert Marshal, Earl of Pembroke to the Abbey of St. Mary in Glory, Anagni.⁶⁹ Although originally given during the pontificate of Gregory IX, a later copy of the grant is preserved in the register of Innocent IV.⁷⁰ This Abbey was a pet project of Gregory IX, whom Earl Gilbert appears to have met whilst travelling to or returning from the Holy Land.⁷¹ Gregory issued

⁶³ W. W. Capes, ed., *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford, 1908), pp. 48–9 and *Original*, 69; Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 9, f. 98r, Reg. Hon. III, 521, CPR, p. 46 and EAWD i, D.436 and Golding, ‘Trans-border Transactions’, p. 34.

⁶⁴ Honorius gave a general confirmation of lands and benefits to Tewkesbury mentioning the Bishops of Llandaff in Reg. Hon. III, 3292, CPR, p. 81 and EAWD ii, L.330. W. and H. and St. Mary’s are mentioned in Reg. Hon. III, 3323, CPR, p. 82 and EAWD ii, L.331.

⁶⁵ For the bishops, see D. Crouch, ed., *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140–1287* (Cardiff, 1988), pp. xiv–xv.

⁶⁶ EAWD ii, L.322.

⁶⁷ J. Ramackers, ed., *Papsturkunden in Frankreich: Normandie* (Göttingen, 1937), 21.

⁶⁸ Reg. Inn. III, vii, 184.

⁶⁹ This transfer was also the subject of a letter by Elias of Radnor (Bishop of Llandaff, 1230–40), for which see Chapter 3, p. 131. For the history of this Abbey see G. Ercolani, D. Fiorani, G. Giammaria, with D. Durante, and I. Sanpietro, *La Badia della Gloria*, Monumenti di Anagni (Anagni, 2001). The church remains the parish church of Magor, Monmouthshire but was later rededicated to St. Mary.

⁷⁰ It is edited in D. Crouch, ed., *The Acts and Letters of the Marshal family: Marshals of England and Earls of Pembroke, 1145–1248*, Camden Fifth Series, 47 (Cambridge, 2015), 200 (though note that Crouch here makes minor errors of reference, and his reference should read Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 21).

⁷¹ For Earl Gilbert’s life see Crouch, *Acts and Letters*, pp. 26–31.

two letters concerning the grant, one confirming Gilbert's gift and the second mandating the legate Otto to ensure that letters patent regarding the transfer were given to Deodatus, Abbot of St. Mary.⁷² The grant was confirmed by Innocent IV who granted farming rights for the church of Magor to the monks of Anagni for twenty years and mandated two canons of Anagni cathedral to ensure that the abbot and monks were not harmed when collecting the money due to them.⁷³ Alexander IV twice confirmed the grants of Gregory IX and Elias of Radnor, Bishop of Llandaff, and granted the farming rights in perpetuity to the monks of Anagni.⁷⁴ The lands would eventually be transferred to Tintern Abbey in 1442 because the income was not worth the expense of collection.⁷⁵

Of the cases concerned with Welsh land, attention must be paid to the contest detailed in *Liber Landavensis*.⁷⁶ It is a fantastically interesting source for the history of the Church in twelfth-century Wales and has been extensively studied by J. Conway Davies, Christopher Brooke, Wendy Davies and John Reuben Davies.⁷⁷ A collection of charters, saints' lives and papal documents, as well as a partial copy of St Matthew's Gospel, it is a "liturgical manuscript of high status" composed at the behest of Urban, Bishop of Llandaff.⁷⁸ He

⁷² Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 19, f. 131v, Reg. Greg. IX, 4932 and 4933 and CPR, p. 183.

⁷³ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 21, ff. 474v–475r, Reg. Inn. IV, 3373 and CPR, p. 237; Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 21 f. 380r, Reg. Inn. IV, 2586. This grant was reconfirmed by Innocent in a later proclamation. See Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 22, ff. 218r–v, Reg. Inn. IV, 6087, CPR, p. 280; Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 21, f. 109v, Reg. Inn. IV, 2873 and CPR, p. 234.

⁷⁴ C. B. de la Roncière, J. Loye, P. H. de Cenival, and A. Coulon, eds., *Les registres d'Alexandre IV*, 3 vols., Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 2nd ser. xv (Paris 1895–1959), 471, CPR, p. 316 and EAWD ii, L.477 and Reg. Alex. IV, 2346, CPR, p. 353 and EAWD ii, L.490; Reg. Alex. IV, 443 and CPR, p. 315.

⁷⁵ This transfer is recorded in the register of Eugenius IV (1431–47). See J. A. Twemlow, *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 9: 1431–1447* (London, 1912), p. 266.

⁷⁶ J. G. Evans and J. Rhys, eds., *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâw reproduced from the text of the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford, 1893; rev. imp Aberystwyth, 1979).

⁷⁷ EAWD i., pp. 147–90, C. N. Brooke, 'The Archbishops of St. David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk' in N. K. Chadwick, ed., *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 201–242, reprinted in C. N. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages*, Studies in Celtic History 8 (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 16–49, W. Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm* (London, 1978) and ead., *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979) and J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales*, Studies in Celtic History 21 (Woodbridge, 2003).

⁷⁸ J. R. Davies, 'The Book of Llandaf', *The Friends of Llandaff Cathedral Annual Report* 72 (2004–05), 13–20, p. 13.

employed these documents to project a vision of the diocese of Llandaff going back to the age of the saints whose *vitae* it contains. He used this projected history to protect his diocese from incursion by local magnates and especially from the rival territorial claims of the bishops of St Davids and Hereford. At times, Bishop Urban's enthusiasm may have got the better of him as the book contains charters which were either genuine documents edited in the aid of Urban's cause or outright forgeries.⁷⁹

The earliest papal letters concerned with Welsh land are contained here, and unlike the charters, the correspondence contained in the book is likely to be genuine. Although they are copies, the bulls conform to the rules and styles used in the papal chancery at the supposed time of their composition during the pontificates of Callixtus II (1119–24), Honorius II (1124–30) and Innocent II.⁸⁰ The book contains forty six documents relating to the papacy dating to between October 1119 and March 1132.⁸¹ These include papal privileges for the diocese of Llandaff, letters sent to Llandaff and other dioceses from the papacy and letters sent to the papacy outlining Llandaff's case and appeal over its lost territories.

John Reuben Davies fashioned a narrative out of these documents, reconstructing the process and stages of Urban's direct appeals to the papal Curia.⁸² The case's details therefore need not detain us, but it is worth highlighting some aspects. This is the first documented contact between the papacy and a Welsh diocese. In itself this is unimportant, but in light of later

⁷⁹ Charles-Edwards provides a very useful discussion on the charters from the Book of Llandaff, concluding that: "as documents claiming that Llandaff was the beneficiary of the grants, the charters are admittedly forgeries; but the argument that genuine grants to churches other than Llandaff underlie most texts is persuasive." See. T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 248–67.

⁸⁰ Davies, *Book*, p. 31 and pp. 160–3.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 153–9.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 37–45.

events we see Urban's appeals to the Curia establishing templates for Welsh ecclesiastics and magnates to follow.

Around the same time, there was contact between Bishop Bernard of St Davids and the papal court.⁸³ It is tempting to suggest that this was in response to Urban's actions, especially given the direct threat to the size of his diocese that Urban's case posed.⁸⁴ Bernard secured a papal bull in favour of St Davids from Callixtus II, protecting the lands of his church from further alienation and ordering the restoration of lands seized by violence.⁸⁵ This bull, Sharpe suggests, is responsible for the notion of St. David's canonisation by this Pope and may explain William of Malmesbury's remarks regarding two journeys to St Davids being the equivalent of a pilgrimage to Rome.⁸⁶

The fact of Urban's appeal and Bernard's securing of some privileges is their main attraction. This was the main manner of interaction between the Welsh and the papacy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as seen from minor appeals for permission to hold additional benefices and from magnates like Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (d. 1240) and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d. 1282) seeking papal approval for their actions. There was also Gerald of Wales' appeal over the status of St Davids and his election as bishop. Through Urban's case we see the first

⁸³ Chapter 1, pp. 21–6.

⁸⁴ R. Sharpe, 'Which text is Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David?', in J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, eds., *St. David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, Studies in Celtic History 24 (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 90–105, p. 102.

⁸⁵ A. W. Haddan, and W. Stubbs, eds., *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols. (Oxford 1869–78), i, pp. 315–16. See also H. Pryce, 'The Dynasty of Deheubarth and the Church of St Davids', in J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, eds., *St. David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, Studies in Celtic History 24 (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 305–16, pp. 311–12.

⁸⁶ Bernard may have lobbied the Pope to promote the cult of St David. Sharpe, 'Which text', pp. 102–3 and William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans., R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols., Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1998–99), v.435 (i. pp. 778–81). See also Davies's remarks on Bernard's efforts to aggrandise his see and its implication for the rivalry with Llandaff in J. R. Davies, 'Cathedrals and the Cult of Saints in Eleventh- and Twelfth-century Wales' in P. Dalton, C. Insley, and L. J. Wilkinson, eds., *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 99–115, pp. 102–6.

contact with a papal legate to provide any information about Wales and the first recorded Welsh participation at a legatine council.⁸⁷ Additionally, it provides an early example of the appointment of papal judges-delegate.⁸⁸ Beyond the Book of Llandaff, Bishop Urban makes one further appearance in papal letters. Having heard of Urban's death, Innocent II wrote to William of Corbeil (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1123–36), ordering him to maintain and defend the see of Llandaff during the vacancy.⁸⁹

The Llandaff case was far from the final territorial dispute involving a Welsh diocese. Gregory IX appointed three officials from Lincoln to resolve a boundary dispute between Coventry and Lichfield, St Asaph and Worcester.⁹⁰ Gregory launched a further inquiry a few weeks later on the Bishop of Hereford's behalf, this time with three officials of Worcester charged with deciding on the boundaries between the diocese of St Asaph, Llandaff, St Davids and Hereford.⁹¹

Another boundary dispute may be found in an indult Thomas Wallensis (Bishop of St Davids, 1247–55) received from Innocent IV granting him permission to build suitable dwellings near churches in Glascwm, Radnorshire, and Ceri, Montgomeryshire.⁹² Both were located at the medieval diocese of St Davids' northern extremity, with Ceri in particular a contentious place having been the scene of a confrontation between Gerald of Wales and Adam, Bishop of St

⁸⁷ The legate John of Crema visited Llandaff in 1125. Davies, *Book*, pp. 39–40 and Chapter 1, p. 20.

⁸⁸ Davies, *Book*, pp. 43–4.

⁸⁹ P. M. Baumgarten, 'Papal letters relating to England, 1133–87', *EHR* 9 (1894), 531–41, text I and EAWD ii, L.86.

⁹⁰ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 18, f. 102r, Reg. Greg. IX, 2936 and CPR, p. 150. The letter was sent on 28 January 1236.

⁹¹ *Councils*, i, pp. 464–5, Reg. Greg. IX, 3013, CPR, p. 151 and EAWD i, D.510. The letter was sent on 15 March 1236.

⁹² Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 23, 97r–v, Reg. Inn. IV, 7554, CPR, p. 301 and EAWD i, D.600. On Thomas Wallensis see J. W. Evans, 'The Bishops of St Davids from Bernard to Bec', in R. F. Walker, ed., *Medieval Pembrokeshire*, Pembrokeshire County History II (Haverfordwest, 2002), pp. 270–311, pp. 295–7, J. Barrow, ed., *St Davids Episcopal Acta 1085–1280* (Cardiff, South Wales Records Society, 1998), pp. 12–13 and *AoC*, pp. 193–4.

Asaph (1175–81), during the former’s time as Archdeacon of Brecon.⁹³ It seems that Bishop Adam sought to expand his territory during the vacancy in St Davids following the death of Gerald’s uncle David fitz Gerald (1148–76), an endeavour in which he was supported by Cadwallon ap Madog of Maelienydd. Cadwallon may have been attempting to escape the overlordship of Rhys ap Gruffudd by removing his territory from the diocese of St Davids (and the lay influence of Rhys) to that of St Asaph and the lay influence of Rhys’s rival Owain Cyfeiliog.⁹⁴ Adam later appealed to Alexander III, with the Pope mandating Bishops Bartholomew of Exeter (1161–84) and Roger of Worcester (1164–79) to hear the case between Adam and Peter de Leia of St Davids (1176–98) in a letter dateable to January 1177 x September 1179.⁹⁵ There is no surviving evidence regarding this commission but, as Cheney indicates, given that Ceri remained in the diocese of St Davids, Adam’s appeal must have failed.

The papacy is also seen granting privileges to institutions, with several surviving from the archives of Margam Abbey.⁹⁶ As a Cistercian monastery, Margam was granted special protection by Innocent III, who charged the Archbishop of Canterbury and others who held ecclesiastical offices to ensure that his orders were enacted.⁹⁷ A further letter from Innocent, in addition to confirming lands held by the monks, granted Margam several privileges such as freedom from paying tithes and the right for the abbey’s brothers to give evidence in civil and

⁹³ Gerald of Wales, *De Rebus a Se Gestis*, I.6 (Gerald of Wales (Giraldi Cambrensis), *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, 8 vols., Rolls Series 21 (London, 1861–91) i.32–9), Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler, (London, 1937, reprinted Woodbridge, 2005) pp. 49–56. Glascwm is also mentioned by Gerald in *Itinerarium Cambriae* I.1 (Gerald of Wales (Giraldi Cambrensis), *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, 8 vols., Rolls Series 21 (London, 1861–91), vi.18, Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 79).

⁹⁴ Stephenson, ‘Empires in Wales: From Gruffudd ap Llywelyn to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd’, *WHR* 28 (2016–17), 26–54, at pp. 46–7.

⁹⁵ M. G. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester 1164–79* (Oxford, 1980), Appendix II, 25 (p. 328).

⁹⁶ On Margam and its scriptorium see R. B. Patterson, *The Scriptorium of Margam Abbey and the Scribes of Early Angevin Glamorgan* (Woodbridge, 2002)

⁹⁷ Clark, *Cartae*, CCLXXX, Birch, *History*, pp. 170–1, *Calendar*, 514, EAWD ii, L.258 and *Original*, 27.

criminal cases.⁹⁸ The former privilege was confirmed in another letter from Innocent, who suggested excommunicating any who demanded payment of tithes from the abbey.⁹⁹ Three letters granting privileges are addressed to the Abbot of Cîteaux and fellow Cistercian abbots but survive in the charters of Margam. Innocent IV granted a licence “to depute to their priors the ability to absolve monks of the order from sentences of excommunication for violence”.¹⁰⁰ Two letters from Alexander IV grant exemption to the Cistercians from being summoned to synods and other meetings without a specific mandate and confirm that the constitution of Innocent IV regarding the summoning of persons by ordinaries does not impinge on Cistercian privileges.¹⁰¹ Clement IV also assisted Margam, confirming an agreement with the Abbot and convent of Tewkesbury over the collection of tithes in Newcastle Emlyn.¹⁰²

Two other Welsh Cistercian houses to benefit from the papacy were Cwm Hir and Valle Crucis.¹⁰³ Owing to their remote location, both received permission from Gregory IX to hear confession and administer the sacraments to their households.¹⁰⁴ Evidence from *Llyfr Coch Asaph* suggests that Valle Crucis received privileges from several Popes. None of the notices regarding these privileges are dated nor are any regnal numbers given, but the sequence of names (Innocent, Gregory, Honorius, Alexander and Urban) suggests that the documents were issued during the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁵ Other beneficiaries were the brothers of the

⁹⁸ These rights were confirmed by Alexander IV. See above, p. 60, n. 51.

⁹⁹ Clark, *Cartae*, CCLXXXI, Birch, *History*, p. 171, *Calendar*, 519, EAWD ii, L.260 and *Original*, 29. A similar letter was issued to the monks of Llantarnam Abbey five years later by the same Pope. It mentions tithes specifically and other indulgences granted to the Cistercians. London, British Library Add. Ch. 20406, *Calendar*, 805, EAWD ii, L.271 and *Original*, 40. For Llantarnam see AP, pp. 125–7.

¹⁰⁰ Clark, *Cartae*, DXVI, Birch, *History*, p. 253 and *Original*, 253.

¹⁰¹ Clark, *Cartae*, DC and DCI, Birch, *History*, p. 271 and *Original*, 637 and 639.

¹⁰² Clark, *Cartae*, DCXLII, Birch, *History*, pp. 282–4, EAWD ii, L.545 and *Original*, 730.

¹⁰³ For Cwm Hir see AP, pp. 80–3.

¹⁰⁴ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 16, f. 53r–v and f. 92v, Reg. Greg. IX, 963 and 1112 and CPR, p. 131. Bliss misspelled Cwm Hir as Cumhir in his calendar and does not record the letter to Valle Crucis.

¹⁰⁵ Jones, *Llyfr Coch Asaph*, p. 114.

Augustinian Priory of Haverfordwest to whom Alexander IV granted the right to be served by chaplains appointed by themselves.¹⁰⁶

Individuals might also petition for aid. Abraham, a monk of Aberconwy who was illegitimate, was addressed by Honorius III who, in view of support for Abraham from his fellow brothers, the King of England and Stephen Langton (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1207–28), granted him permission to enter religious life in April 1225.¹⁰⁷ Papal dispensation for illegitimacy was also granted to an individual from the see of St Asaph.¹⁰⁸ Another illegitimacy case concerned Richard Carew (Bishop of St Davids, 1256–80), who had been elected by the chapter of St Davids in August 1255 but refused royal assent by Henry III.¹⁰⁹ It is not clear why the King objected to Richard (he does not, for instance, raise the bishop's illegitimacy) but in a draft letter, dated 12 November 1255, Henry appeals to Alexander IV not to admit the postulation of Richard, along with that of a new Archbishop of York, promising that messengers will explain his reasons at the Curia.¹¹⁰ Alexander IV cannot have found their reasons convincing because he consecrated Richard in Rome and sent a series of letters in support of the new bishop in February and March 1256. Ecclesiastical officials were to ensure that Richard received his due rights in his diocese.¹¹¹ The chapter, clergy and people of St David's were to receive and obey Richard as their bishop despite his

¹⁰⁶ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 24, f. 156v, Reg. Alex. IV, 1243, CPR, p. 329 and EAWD i, D.630.

¹⁰⁷ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 13, f. 53r, Reg. Hon. III, 5437 and CPR, p. 102. Hays identifies him with Abraham, Bishop of St Asaph (June 1225–1232/3). See Rh. W. Hays, *The History of the Abbey of Aberconway* (Cardiff, 1963), pp. 37–8 and 'ST ASAPH: Bishops', in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 9, the Welsh Cathedrals (Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph, St Davids)*, ed. M. J. Pearson (London, 2003), pp. 33–36. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol9/pp33-36> [accessed 29 May 2016].

¹⁰⁸ Jones, *Llyfr Coch Asaph*, p. 114. The dispensation was given by an unknown Pope Urban, but as the notice of this dispensation is at the end of a sequence of papal letters discussed above in p. 68, we may legitimately conclude that the original document dates from the thirteenth century.

¹⁰⁹ On Richard Carew see Evans, 'Bishops', pp. 297–302.

¹¹⁰ London, The National Archives, E 135/5/43, EAWD i, D.620 and Evans, 'Bishops', p. 297.

¹¹¹ *Councils*, i, pp. 481–2, Reg. Alex. IV, 1159, CPR, p. 327 and EAWD i, D.623.

illegitimacy.¹¹² He was commended to Henry III, and the King was commanded to ensure that the new bishop received his temporalities, to which end Henry directed his agents in May 1256.¹¹³ The bishop was encouraged to govern his diocese well, a directive taken to heart as the chapter of St David's submitted an ordinance of diocesan accounts for Alexander's approval.¹¹⁴ Richard's case was not an unusual one, as there are other comparable examples such as the case of Mauger, Bishop of Worcester and Geoffrey de Liberatione, Bishop of Dunkeld (1236–49).¹¹⁵ It is another example of the similarity of Welsh experiences to those elsewhere in the Christian world.

Richard Carew's case was not the first time a Pope had overridden the Crown's objections when choosing a bishop for a Welsh see. In February 1248, Innocent IV ordered the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate the newly elected Anian I (1248–66) as Bishop of St Asaph.¹¹⁶ The King objected on procedural grounds that the chapter had not first sought permission to hold an election. Royal assent was eventually granted in May 1248.¹¹⁷

Several letters are addressed to clerics who requested permission to hold additional benefices,¹¹⁸ mostly to men from the see of St Davids, including Archdeacon Jordan "of the

¹¹² *Reg. Alex. IV*, 1158, CPR, p. 327 and *EAWD* i, D.624; *Councils*, i, pp. 482–3, CPR, p. 328 and *EAWD* i, D.625–6.

¹¹³ *Councils*, i, p. 483, CPR, p. 328, and *EAWD* i, D.627; D.632–3 and Evans, 'Bishops', p. 298.

¹¹⁴ *Councils*, i, pp. 483–4, CPR, p. 329, *EAWD* i, D.628; Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 25, 245r, *Reg. Alex. IV*, 3098 and *EAWD* i, D.649. This document should be read with Barrow, *St Davids*, 130, the document which established the treasurer at St David's. See also Chapter 3, pp. 131–2.

¹¹⁵ For Bishop Mauger see below, pp. 94–5, and for Bishop Geoffrey see Barrell, 'Scotland', pp. 172–3.

¹¹⁶ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 21, f. 510v, Reg. Inn. IV, 3669 and CPR, p. 242.

¹¹⁷ For the bishop see 'ST ASAPH: Bishops', in *FEA* 9, pp. 33–36. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol9/pp33-36> [accessed 20 January 2016] and the references found there.

¹¹⁸ On the provision of benefices by the papacy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see K. Pennington, *Pope and Bishops* (Pennsylvania, 1984), pp. 115–53, especially pp. 135–48 on the prohibition on holding two benefices following the Fourth Lateran Council.

Three Mountains”,¹¹⁹ Canon Edward de la Cnoll,¹²⁰ Richard, Rector of Manorbier, Pembrokeshire,¹²¹ Simon of Radnor, Rector of Llanbister, Radnorshire,¹²² Robert de Berken, Rector of Rhosili, Glamorganshire,¹²³ and William, Rector of Stackpole, Pembrokeshire.¹²⁴ Maurice, rector of Abernant, Carmarthenshire, was granted permission to hold two additional churches at Dinas and Llanboidy, Carmarthenshire, at the request of Annibale Annibaldi, Cardinal Priest of the church of the Twelve Apostles.¹²⁵ From the diocese of Llandaff, Michael Odin, Rector of St. Nicholas on the Mount¹²⁶ and Richard de Kenfex, Rector of St Donats, Glamorganshire, received permission to hold additional benefices.¹²⁷ A further, unknown applicant from St Asaph was also granted the right to hold an additional benefice, but neither the date nor the Pope who issued the permission is known, though the two dated

¹¹⁹ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 19, ff. 29v–30r, Reg. Greg. IX, 4410, CPR, p. 175 and EAWD i, D.515. See also 'Archdeacons: St Davids', in *FEA* 9, pp. 53–4. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol9/pp53-54> [accessed 7 January 2016].

¹²⁰ The letter is recorded as being sent in the same manner (*in eundem modum*) as a letter sent at the same time to John de Button, a canon of Wells. Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 21a, 218r (but cf. Reg. Vat 21a, 217v–218r), Reg. Inn. IV, 4465, CPR, p. 254 and EAWD i, D.563. Edward de la Cnoll was subsequently given papal dispensation for illegitimacy. See 'Canons whose prebends cannot be identified', in *FEA* 9, pp. 61–72. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol9/pp61-72> [accessed 7 January 2016].

¹²¹ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 22, ff. 107v–108r, Reg. Inn. IV, 5424, CPR, p. 273 and EAWD i, D. 583. The mandate from Innocent IV to the Bishop of St Davids describes Richard only as a rector. It is impossible to identify him as there were at least two known Richards amongst the clergy of St Davids in the 1250s, one of whom was Precentor of St Davids 1253–1259/60. See 'Precentors', in *FEA* 9, pp. 50–51. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol9/pp50-51> [accessed 10 January 2016].

¹²² Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 22, ff. 228v–229r, Reg. Inn. IV, 6194 and CPR, p. 282. It is possible that this Simon would later become Archdeacon of Llandaff. See 'Archdeacons: Llandaff', in *FEA* 9, pp. 17–20. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol9/pp17-20> [accessed 10 January 2016], and the references found here.

¹²³ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 24, ff. 26v–27r, Reg. Alex. IV, 238 and CPR, p. 312.

¹²⁴ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 24, f. 155r, Reg. Alex. IV, 1237, CPR, p. 329 and EAWD i, D.629.

¹²⁵ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 29, f. 151v, Reg. Urban IV, 1559, CPR, p. 412 and EAWD i, D.666. I presume that Maurice was rector of Abernant in Carmarthenshire, as opposed to Abernant, Montgomeryshire, due to its proximity to Dinas and Llanboidy. The cardinal was a close friend of Thomas Aquinas, who had dedicated three books of *Catena Aurea* to him. Maurice is otherwise unknown. See J. Catto, 'Ideas and Experience in the Political Thought of Aquinas', *Past and Present* 71 (1976), 3–21, pp. 16–17 and J. A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: His Life, Thought and Works* (Oxford, 1975), p. 124, p. 129 and pp. 136–7.

¹²⁶ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 27, f. 75r, Reg. Urban IV, 274 and EAWD i, L.507. The name given in the letter of Urban IV is *ecclesiam beati nicolai supra montem*. I have been unable to identify this church satisfactorily, but two possibilities present themselves. Perhaps the likeliest is St. Nicholas in Grosmont, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire. The other candidate is the village of St Nicholas, Glamorganshire.

¹²⁷ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 27, f. 75r, Reg. Urban IV, 275, CPR, p. 389 and EAWD ii, L.517.

documents surrounding the record of the permission in the *Red Book of Asaph*, date from 1266 and 1270 respectively.¹²⁸

Another possible recipient of a benefice in Wales was Adam de Mora.¹²⁹ He was a relative of William of Bitton I (Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1248–64), whom Innocent IV commanded to arrange a benefice for Adam either in his own diocese or in the “principality of Wales” as compensation for voluntarily giving up a benefice in the see of Bath and Wells.¹³⁰ One who did hold a benefice in Wales was Master Giles of Avenbury, treasurer of the diocese of Hereford.¹³¹ Amongst the churches held by Master Giles was that of “Merthir” in the diocese of St Davids, perhaps identifiable as the modern district of Merthyr, Carmarthenshire.¹³²

These documents show bishops assisting others. One letter provides an example of Welsh bishops acting in concert with other suffragans of Canterbury. Following a request by, amongst others, the Bishops of St Davids and St Asaph, Innocent IV wrote to the Abbots of St Albans, Bury St Edmunds and Waltham warning against vexatious appeals. The letter is clearly meant to warn the abbots that they must be subservient to their bishops.¹³³

¹²⁸ Jones, *Llyfr Coch Asaph*, i, p. 53.

¹²⁹ ‘Canons whose prebends cannot be identified’, in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 7, Bath and Wells*, ed. D. E. Greenway (London, 2001), pp. 78–111. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol7/pp78-111> [accessed 7 January 2016].

¹³⁰ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 22, f. 180v, Reg. Inn. IV, 5836 and CPR, p. 278. The phrase used in the letter is *principatu Wallie*. For the bishop see ‘Bishops’, in *FEA* 7, pp. 1–6. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol7/pp1-6> [accessed 7 January 2016]

¹³¹ ‘Treasurers’, in *FEA* 8, pp. 17–20. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol8/pp17-20> [accessed 8 January 2016]. See also W. N. Yates, ‘Bishop Peter de Aquablanca (1240–1268): a Reconsideration’ *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 22 (1971), 303–317, at pp. 312–14.

¹³² Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 27, f. 80r, Reg. Urban IV, 292 and CPR, p. 390. This must be the church that is in the diocese of St Davids as the others named are in Herefordshire (Avenbury), Cambridgeshire (Kimbolton) and Shropshire (Clun). See also W. G. Clark-Maxwell, ‘The advowson of Clun in the 12th and 13th centuries’, *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural Society* 34 (1911), 342–8, at pp. 344–6.

¹³³ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols., Rolls Series 57 (London, 1872–83), vi.105 and EAWD i, D.589.

Bishops also benefited from papal letters. A letter to the Bishop of Llandaff from Gregory IX gave him the power to unite churches when their individual incomes were not sufficient to support a rector.¹³⁴ Welsh bishops were granted permission not to travel. William de Burgh (Bishop of Llandaff, 1245–53) was excused from attending the First Council of Lyon in 1245 as was Anselm le Gros (Bishop of St Davids, 1230–47) in the final months of his episcopate.¹³⁵ Almost a decade later, John la Warre (Bishop of Llandaff, 1254–56), was granted permission not to travel from his diocese by Innocent IV.¹³⁶

The benefit of travel to Rome itself is apparent in the case of Bishop Thomas Wallensis. His return from Rome to St Davids is recorded by all versions of *Brut y Tywysogyon* for 1253.¹³⁷ He benefited directly from three letters issued by Innocent IV. In July 1252 a letter was written on his behalf to Henry III (1216–72), ordering restitution to be made to Thomas following conflict over the right to administer ecclesiastical patronage in the diocese of St Davids.¹³⁸ Henry followed Innocent IV's instructions, mandating the bailiff of Carmarthen to oversee the restitution in January 1253.¹³⁹ In August 1252 Innocent wrote on behalf of Bishop Thomas to John de Cheham, a papal chaplain and Canon of St. Paul's, asking for a prebend of St. Paul's to be assigned to the bishop. Thomas claimed it had been granted to his predecessors by virtue of his dignity as Bishop of St Davids.¹⁴⁰ The letter, along with other

¹³⁴ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 20, f. 19r, Reg. Greg IX, 5238, CPR, p. 190 and EAWD ii, L.402. This letter was probably intended for Elias of Radnor, but he had died in office around a month before the letter was issued. For this bishop see Crouch, *Llandaff*, pp. xvi–xvii.

¹³⁵ *Councils*, i., p. 473; *Councils*, i., pp. 473–4 and EAWD i, D.537. For William de Burgh see Crouch, *Llandaff*, p. xvii and for Anselm le Gros, see Evans, 'Bishops', pp. 292–5.

¹³⁶ Reg. Inn. IV 7967, CPR, p. 305 and EAWD ii, L.476. For John la Warre see Crouch, *Llandaff*, p. xvii.

¹³⁷ *Brut y Tywysogyon: Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1955) 1253 (pp.244–5), *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20*, ed. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1941), p. 206 and translated in *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20*, trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1952) 1253, (p. 109), and *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, ed. and trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1971) 1253 (pp. 238–9). Thomas was amongst the bishops passing sentence of excommunication against any who contravened Magna Carta on 13 May 1252 and presumably travelled to Rome after this meeting. See EAWD i, D.588 and Barrow, *St Davids*, p. 13.

¹³⁸ *Councils*, i., pp. 479–80, EAWD i, D.590 and *Original*, 410.

¹³⁹ EAWD i, D.596.

¹⁴⁰ London, British Library Harley 6280, 69v and EAWD i, D.592.

papal letters concerning St Davids known from other sources, is included in the Statute Book of St Davids, compiled during the episcopacy of Edward Vaughan (Bishop of St Davids, 1509–22).¹⁴¹ Which prebend was claimed by Bishop Thomas is unknown as this letter is the only surviving evidence of such a claim.¹⁴²

Ecclesiastical discipline features in papal letters concerning Wales. The earliest letters survive in the *Liber Eliensis* and concern the case of Hervé, a chaplain of King William II (1087–1100), appointed Bishop of Bangor in 1092 after the initial Norman incursions into North Wales.¹⁴³ He proved unpopular, being driven from the see c. 1095 by the men of Gwynedd after the Norman gains were reversed.¹⁴⁴ Letters mentioning the events at Bangor in a highly uncomplimentary manner were issued by Paschal II (1099–1118) at Hervé's behest. Their main purpose is to advise Henry I (1100–35) and Anselm (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1093–1109) on establishing a new bishopric at Ely.¹⁴⁵ The Pope recommends Hervé's transfer to the new diocese on account of his learning and the "excessive ferocity and harassment" and the "savagery of barbarians" which had forced him out of Bangor.¹⁴⁶ The see of Bangor was unreformed at the time and if it is taken that the voice of Hervé speaks

¹⁴¹ For the manuscript see S. Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 201, n.12 and C. E. Wright, *Fontes Harleani* (London, 1972), p. 292.

¹⁴² Thomas de Cheham held the prebendary of Brownswood and was later to become Bishop of Glasgow (1259–67). See 'Prebendaries: Brownswood', in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300: Volume 1, St. Paul's, London*, ed. D. E. Greenway (London, 1968), pp. 29–31. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol1/pp29-31> [accessed 19 March 2016].

¹⁴³ *AoC*, pp. 30–2 and p. 179 and *HoW*, ii. 448. Davies places the appointment of Hervé in the context of Norman attempts to seize control of and reform the Welsh Church. J. R. Davies, 'Aspects of Church Reform in Wales, c. 1093– c. 1223' in C. P. Lewis, ed., *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (2007), pp. 85–99, at pp. 86–7.

¹⁴⁴ H. Pryce, 'Esgobaeth Bangor yn Oes y Tywysogion' in W. P. Griffith, ed., *'Ysbryd Dealltwrus ac Enaid Anfarwol'* (Bangor, 1999), pp.37–57, at p. 43 and *AoC*, pp. 35–6 and p. 179.

¹⁴⁵ The Pope sent four letters in total about establishing Ely. See *Liber Eliensis*, III.2–5 (*Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, Camden Third Series XCII (London, 1962), pp. 246–9) and *Liber Eliensis*, trans. J. Fairweather (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 298–302).

¹⁴⁶ *ferocia et persecutione* and *barbarorum immanitates*. Respectively *Liber Eliensis* III.2 and III. 4 (Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, p. 246 and p. 247 and Fairweather, *Liber Eliensis*, p. 299 and p. 300).

through the letter of Paschal II, we may be seeing the frustration of an unwelcome reformer unaccustomed to Welsh ecclesiastical practices.¹⁴⁷

A continuing lack of reform in Wales is evident from a letter from Theobald of Bec (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1139–61) to probably Pope Adrian IV (1154–59).¹⁴⁸ Theobald outlines a long-running dispute between Nicholas ap Gwrgant (Bishop of Llandaff, 1148–83) and Robert, son of Nicholas's predecessor Uhtred (Bishop of Llandaff, 1140–48).¹⁴⁹ Nothing is said of the dispute's cause, but allegations of violence and carnal vice against Robert are levelled by an archbishop frustrated at being unable to resolve the matter. Both sides appear to have acquired papal letters in their support, even though Robert's were suspected as forgeries by the archbishop because of their internal features.

There was further indiscipline in Bangor around the same time in a dispute between Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170) and Thomas Becket.¹⁵⁰ They argued over the appointment of a new bishop to Bangor following the death of Bishop Meurig (1139–61), and over Owain's marriage to his first cousin Cristin. The latter had been brought to the papacy's attention by Theobald of Bec in a letter written to support Meurig, who had had to escape from Gwynedd. The letter complains about the standard of Welsh learning and Welsh ideas of marriage but particularly against Owain.¹⁵¹ Alexander III wrote to the chapter of Bangor in December 1165 mandating the election of a bishop within two months and annulling the apparent

¹⁴⁷ For Bangor before Hervé's election see Pryce, 'Esgobaeth Bangor', pp. 38–43 and on the Welsh Church in general see *AoC*, pp. 172–9.

¹⁴⁸ John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury: Volume 1 The Early Letters (1153–1161)*, ed. W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler and rev. C. N. L. Brooke, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1986), 57. The letter is undated but reasoned by the editors as being written no later than 1159.

¹⁴⁹ Crouch, *Llandaff*, pp. xiii–xiv.

¹⁵⁰ The most thorough account of the controversy is by Davies in *EAWD* ii, pp. 417–36 and discussed further in Chapter 3, pp. 123–4.

¹⁵¹ See Chapter 3, p. 123, n. 171. For Bishop Meurig see Davies, 'Aspects', p. 91 and 'BANGOR: Bishops', in *FEA* 9, pp. 1–4. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol9/pp1-4> [accessed 23 March 2017]. For ecclesiastical criticisms of Welsh law and marriage customs see Chapter 4, p. 135, n. 16 and p. 136, n. 19.

practice of hereditary tenure of the archdeaconry.¹⁵² When his instructions were not followed, he wrote to the laity and clergy of Bangor in February 1166 again ordering a swift election.¹⁵³ He had previously written to Becket instructing him to encourage the same in January 1166.¹⁵⁴ With the vacancy still not filled in October 1168, Alexander wrote to Henry II (1154–89) complaining that he kept bishoprics vacant for his own benefit.¹⁵⁵ Finally, Becket was ordered to take severe sanctions against Owain and David, the archdeacon, over the matter of Owain's wife and his intransigence over the vacant see.¹⁵⁶ This last letter implies that Alexander III had written directly to Owain concerning his marriage to Cristin, but that Owain had refused to read the Pope's letter. This letter does not survive.

Almost a century later Welsh attitudes to marriage continued to trouble the Church. In 1252, Innocent IV granted Thomas Wallensis of St Davids the faculty to permit the continued marriage of two couples who had married within the degrees of consanguinity permitted by the Church and another who had married within the degrees of affinity.¹⁵⁷ These contraventions of Canon law were not exclusive to Wales, and we have several examples from all over Christendom, including from, for instance, Norway, Sweden, Scotland and Ireland.¹⁵⁸ The granting of the faculty demonstrates the papacy's increasing influence on Welsh life.

¹⁵² J. C. Robertson, and J. B. Sheppard, eds., *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 vols., Rolls Series 67 (London, 1875–85), v.CXVII and EAWD ii, p. 422.

¹⁵³ *Materials*, v.CXIX and EAWD ii, p. 424. Becket later alleged that Owain had suppressed both this and the letter in the preceding footnote. See A. J. Duggan, ed. and trans., *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, 2 vols., Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2000), ii.223 and specially n. 4 to this letter.

¹⁵⁴ *Correspondence*, i.67 and EAWD ii, pp. 422–3.

¹⁵⁵ *Materials*, vi.CCCCLX and EAWD ii, pp. 427–8. There were many vacancies, with Bangor and St Asaph amongst them. Becket complained that the same sees were empty and of Henry II's abuse of them almost a year later (August 1169) to Hubald, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. See *Correspondence*, ii.216.

¹⁵⁶ *Correspondence*, ii.190 and EAWD ii, pp. 428–9.

¹⁵⁷ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 22, f. 198r, Reg. Inn. IV, 5880, CPR, pp. 278–9 and EAWD i, D.591.

¹⁵⁸ A. Bergquist, 'The Papal Legate: Nicholas Breakspear's Scandinavian Mission', in in B. Bolton and A. J. Duggan, eds., *Adrian IV The English Pope (1154–1159): Studies and Texts* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 41–8, at p. 44, K. Salonen, 'Forbidden Marital Strategies: Papal Marriage Dispensations for Scandinavian Couples in the Later Middle Ages', in in K. Salonen, K. V. Jensen and T. Jørgensen, eds., *Medieval Christianity in the North: new studies*, Acta Scandinavia 1 (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 181–208, at pp. 184–5, Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*,

The letters concerning Owain Gwynedd were the first of several groups sent by Alexander III. Becket caused Alexander III to write to a number of bishops following the crowning of Prince Henry (d. 1183) in June 1170, supporting Becket in whatever action he took against the participating officials, who included Godfrey (Bishop of St Asaph, 1160–75) and his archdeacon, David.¹⁵⁹ They were suspended with Nicholas ap Gwrgant of Llandaff in a letter of 16 September 1170.¹⁶⁰ It seems that the Pope had written to the Bishop Godfrey earlier, commanding him to return to his see, but this letter is lost and known only through a letter from Becket to Godfrey in August or September 1169.¹⁶¹ In the letter, Becket orders Godfrey to return to his see or resign as per Alexander III's instructions. The bishop appears to have fled St Asaph following the Welsh successes of 1165.¹⁶² Alexander also replied to the Bishop of Hereford who had enquired about the correct day to make ecclesiastical appointments.¹⁶³ The bishop had complained that clerks were promoted to Holy Orders outside Ember Days by bishops in Scotland and Wales, a practice condemned by Alexander, who insisted that clerks be promoted on appropriate days. This is an example of a minor point that the papacy, with the beginnings of a reformed bureaucracy in place and improved means of imposing discipline, could now insist on enforcing.¹⁶⁴

pp. 157–9, M. T. Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries*, Studies in Celtic History 29 (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 184–95, D. Ó Corráin, *The Irish Church, its Reform and the English Invasion*, Trinity Medieval Ireland Series 2 (Dublin, 2017), pp. 49–52, and see also Meyer, 'Chancery', p. 241.

¹⁵⁹ *Correspondence*, ii.307. For Bishop Godfrey see EAWD ii, pp. 437–43. On the prince's coronation see F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 2002), pp. 254–6 and pp. 257–9.

¹⁶⁰ *Materials*, vii.DCC and EAWD ii, L.151. Alexander III was also the recipient of a letter from Richard of Dover (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1174–84) concerning the suspension of Nicholas ap Gwrgant over the blessing of the Abbot of Malmesbury against the wishes of the Bishop of Salisbury. See *Councils*, i., pp. 385–6, and Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 92–4.

¹⁶¹ *Correspondence*, ii.226.

¹⁶² For the campaign of 1165 and its aftermath see *AoC*, pp. 52–3 and P. Latimer, 'Henry II's campaign against the Welsh in 1165', *WHR* 14 (1988–89), 523–52.

¹⁶³ EAWD ii, L.160.

¹⁶⁴ *AoC*, p. 194.

Other practices were far more important. For instance, Urban IV instructed all Welsh ecclesiastics to obey the commands of his legate Ottobuono.¹⁶⁵ Honorius III reminded all cathedral chapters in Wales and England to elect bishops who were faithful to the Church and King (Henry III), and to pay attention to the advice of his legate Pandulf.¹⁶⁶ Having granted Cadwgan of Llanddyfai (Bishop of Bangor, 1215–36) permission to resign his see, Gregory IX wrote to the chapter of Bangor commanding it to canonically elect a new bishop and to use the former bishop's effects, barring his books and clothes, to pay the church's debts.¹⁶⁷

The papacy sometimes sought assistance from Welsh ecclesiastics. Some instances were direct appeals for aid. Urban IV wrote to the Bishops of St Davids, St Asaph and Llandaff asking for assistance in paying the debts incurred by the papacy during the Sicilian affair.¹⁶⁸ The main letter in Urban's register is addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury but it is noted that letters were sent to the bishops of the named sees. After noting the letter to the Bishop of Llandaff, there is a sizeable gap on the manuscript page before the next entry in the register. It seems likely that the scribe left a gap either to enter a record of another letter or to note that more copies of this letter were sent. Given the letter's nature, and to how few bishops it was addressed (the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Coventry, Bath and Exeter are named), the latter possibility is more appealing. It is unknown whether Urban received any aid from the Welsh bishops. Innocent IV asked an earlier Bishop of St Davids, Anselm le Gros, to act as a conservator on the Bishop of Bath and Wells's behalf.¹⁶⁹ This

¹⁶⁵ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 32, f. 9r, Reg. Clement IV, 41, CPR, p. 426.

¹⁶⁶ *PH*, 123, Reg. Hon. III, 2027 and CPR, p. 65. For the legate Chapter 3, p. 130, n. 215.

¹⁶⁷ Reg. Greg. IX, 2994 and CPR, p. 151. On Cadwgan's life and literary activities see C. H. Talbot, 'Cadogan of Bangor', *Cîteaux in de Nederlanden* 9 (1958), 18–40, at pp. 19–23 and J. Goering, and H. Pryce, 'The *De Modo Confitendi* of Cadwgan, Bishop of Bangor', *Mediaeval Studies* 62 (2000), 1–27 at pp. 1–15. Cadwgan's resignation and the granting of that right by Gregory IX is recorded in all versions of *Brut y Tywysogyon*, for which see Chapter 3, p. 112, n. 101. On the resignation of bishops see Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, pp. 101–14.

¹⁶⁸ Reg. Urban IV, 128 and CPR, p. 383.

¹⁶⁹ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 21, 539r–v, Reg. Inn. IV, 3953 and 3955, CPR, p. 246 and EAWD i, D.564. Bliss omitted to note that the Bishop of St Davids had been appointed a conservator in the second letter. On the

intervention stemmed from the dispute between the canons of Wells and the monks of Bath over voting rights for the election of Roger of Salisbury (Bishop of Bath, 1244–45; Bishop of Bath and Wells 1245–47).¹⁷⁰ Similarly, Innocent instructed Anian I of St Asaph to ensure that transactions conducted by William, sub-prior of Coventry, during his brief tenure as Abbot of Shrewsbury, were reversed.¹⁷¹ Following a disputed election, Innocent had previously ordered William to resign the monastery and give any proceeds he had received as abbot to Henry, whom the Pope appointed as the new abbot; the Bishop of St Asaph was named executor for this process.¹⁷² Innocent IV also mandated the Prior of Llanthony Prima, with the Prior of Leominster, to prohibit the Dominicans from establishing themselves at Hereford in order to avoid impoverishing other ecclesiastical institutions there. The matter arose again during the pontificate of Urban IV, who ordered the Bishop and Archdeacon of Llandaff to decide the case between the dean and chapter of Hereford and the Dominicans.¹⁷³ The case became a long-running one, with the involvement of ecclesiastical officials from Wales acting as two brief windows on a sometimes violent dispute, which began in 1246 and was not permanently settled until 1342.¹⁷⁴ Alexander IV asked a prior of Llanthony to assist the chapter of Hereford by overseeing the return of unlawfully alienated goods.¹⁷⁵ A similar

role of a conservator, see J. E. Sayers, *Papal Judges Delegate in the Province of Canterbury 1198–1254* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 108–9.

¹⁷⁰ On Bishop Roger and the dispute between the monks and chapter see *English Episcopal Acta 45: Bath and Wells 1206–1247*, ed. B. Kemp (Oxford, 2016), pp. xxxv–xxxviii and see also C. M. Church, *Chapters in the Early History of the Church of Wells* (Taunton, 1894), pp. 239–57.

¹⁷¹ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 22, f. 62v, Reg. Inn. IV, 5191 and CPR, p. 269.

¹⁷² Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 22, f. 62v, Reg. Inn. IV, 5190 and CPR, p. 269. On Henry, William and the disputed election see M. J. Angold, G. C. Baugh, M. M. Chibnall, D. C. Cox, D. T. W. Price, M. Tomlinson and B. S. Trinder, 'Houses of Benedictine monks: Abbey of Shrewsbury', in *A History of the County of Shropshire: Volume 2*, ed. A T Gaydon and R B Pugh (London, 1973), pp. 30–37 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/salop/vol2/pp30-37> [accessed 7 January 2016]. See also T. W. Smith, 'Papal Executors and the Veracity of Petitions from Thirteenth-Century England', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 110 (2015), 662–83.

¹⁷³ Capes, *Charters*, pp. 85–6 and *Original*, 363–4; Capes, *Charters*, pp. 116–18 and *Original*, 650. Further documents concerning the inquiry conducted by officials from Llandaff survive in the archive of Hereford Cathedral, and are discussed in Chapter 3, pp. 128–9.

¹⁷⁴ For the dispute in its entirety, see W. N. Yates, 'The attempts to establish a Dominican priory at Hereford, 1246–1342', *Downside Review* 87 (1969), 254–67 and in summary *English Episcopal Acta 35: Hereford 1234–1275*, ed. J. Barrow (Oxford, 2009), p. 109.

¹⁷⁵ Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Archives, 2526 and *Original*, 506.

mandate was issued by the same Pope in January 1261, this time charging the precentor of Llandaff to assist the Abbot and convent of Dore, Herefordshire.¹⁷⁶

Other letters ask for aid in preaching the crusade. Innocent IV mandated the Bishop of St Davids, along with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Chichester and Exeter, the Prior of the Dominicans and the Minister of the Franciscans, by Innocent IV to preach the crusade with promises of indulgences to all who took the cross.¹⁷⁷ Urban IV sent letters to bishops throughout Europe asking for assistance for the crusade. They are mainly addressed to Walter de Cantilupe (Bishop of Worcester, 1236–66) or occasionally to the Bishop of St Andrews. It is noted in the manuscript that five of these letters were sent to the Bishop of St Davids, with Richard Carew the likely recipient. On the Pope's behalf, he was to grant remission to those who participated personally and those who assisted participants as well as granting plenary indulgence to those who attended processions and sermons.¹⁷⁸ He was empowered to collect a hundredth of Church revenue in Wales for five years to assist the crusade, and granted the right to summon crusade participants beyond his diocese.¹⁷⁹ Urban IV addressed all the other bishops of Wales, encouraging them to assist the Bishop of St Davids regarding the crusade.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, a letter was addressed to all manner of

¹⁷⁶ The mandate survives amongst miscellaneous administrative records in the records of the Court of Augmentation in the National Archives. See London, The National Archives, E315/40/146, and EAWD ii, L.494. The precentor's identity is unknown, with the last recorded precentor of Llandaff being Maurice Gobion in 1254. 'Precentors', in *FEA* 9, p. 20. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol9/p20> [accessed 22 March 2016].

¹⁷⁷ T. Rymer, and R. Sanderson, *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae etc.*, ed. A. Clarke and F. Holbrooke, 4 vols. in 7 (London, 1816–69), I.i.272 and *Original*, 365 and EAWD i, D.604. See also Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 440

¹⁷⁸ Reg. Urban IV, 466, *Thomas Mathews's Welsh Records in Paris*, ed., D. Rees and J. G. Jones (Cardiff, 2010), 'Welsh Records in Paris, 1910', pp. 13–16 and 65–70 and CPR, p. 394. Thomas Mathews's *Welsh Records in Paris* was reissued with new introductory notes in 2010. Page references in this and succeeding footnotes are to the texts and translation of the original volume, which was reissued in full in the reprint.

¹⁷⁹ Reg. Urban IV, 468 and 470, 'Welsh Records in Paris, 1910', pp. 7–12, 59–66 and p. 17, p. 71, CPR, p. 394 and EAWD i, D.665. It does not appear that this tax was collected in Wales. See Hurlock, *Crusades*, p. 36 and pp. 202–4 and see also Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 290–1 and p. 446. Edward I (1272–1307) was later granted the right to collect a tenth for the crusade in the 1270s but does not seem to have been able to collect it as the grant was incumbent on an immediate departure to the Holy land. See *ibid.*, pp. 334–5.

¹⁸⁰ Reg. Urban IV, 471, 'Welsh Records in Paris, 1910', p. 18 and p. 72, CPR, p. 394 and EAWD i, D.664. The notice of Wales in the manuscript also mentions archbishops. This is clearly an error.

ecclesiastics, encouraging them to welcome the bishop on his journey and granting him safe passage as he went about his business, though Lunt was doubtful whether any of these commissions took place given how close to the outbreak of civil war they were issued.¹⁸¹ In the case of Urban IV, Hurlock suggests that the Bishop of St Davids was chosen for the task as the papacy required an agent with local knowledge and that this is an example of the papacy taking more direct control of Welsh affairs.¹⁸² She is undoubtedly correct on both counts and it is important to note that the letters directed to the Bishop of St Davids are but some of Urban IV's letters to name Wales as a separate entity. His letters of instruction and introduction concerning the legate Guy le Gros also distinguish between Wales and England.¹⁸³

Welsh ecclesiastics are seen assisting the papacy in conducting inquiries.¹⁸⁴ The Abbots of Strata Florida and Valle Crucis and the Prior of Valle Crucis were asked to inquire into the burning of documents concerning the possessions of Cormeilles Abbey.¹⁸⁵ In 1222, Honorius III directed the Abbot and Prior of Whitland and the Abbot of Cymer to investigate allegations of corruption against the Bishop of St Asaph.¹⁸⁶ Reiner (Bishop of St Asaph, 1186–1224) apparently permitted priests to succeed to their fathers' churches on payment of a fine, clergy to have concubines and illiterate clerks picked by their families to serve the

¹⁸¹ Reg. Urban IV, 472, 'Welsh Records in Paris, 1910', pp. 19–20 and pp. 73–4, CPR, pp. 394–5, EAWD i, D.662 and Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 446.

¹⁸² Hurlock, *Crusades*, pp. 202–4.

¹⁸³ See above, p. 58, n. 45.

¹⁸⁴ On the use of judges-delegate by the papacy see H. Müller, 'The Omnipresent Pope: Legates and Judges Delegate', in A. A. Larson and K. Sisson, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 70 (Leiden, 2016), pp. 199–219.

¹⁸⁵ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 16, f. 100v, Reg. Greg. IX, 1155 and CPR, p. 152. See also Sayers, *Papal Judges Delegate*, p. 91, where the importance of having documentary proof of their possessions for the Abbot and convent of Cormeilles is emphasised.

¹⁸⁶ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 11, f. 201r–v, Reg. Hon. III, 3835 and CPR, p. 85. 'ST ASAPH: Bishops', in *FEA* 9, pp. 33–36. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol9/pp33-36> [accessed 22 March 2016], D. H. Williams, 'The Cistercians in West Wales I. Cymer Abbey', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 130 (1981) 36–58, pp. 38–9, For Cymer and Whitland see respectively *AP*, pp. 84–6 and pp. 218–21.

diocese. We perhaps see here a remnant of the old *Clas* churches.¹⁸⁷ Gregory IX instructed the Bishop of St Asaph (Hywel, (Bishop of St Asaph (1233–40) at the time of the Pope’s letter), with the Abbot of Dore, to resolve the dispute between Margaret de Lacey and her endowed foundation of Aconbury Priory, Herefordshire.¹⁸⁸ William of Radnor (Bishop of Llandaff, 1257–66) was one of several bishops asked to inquire into the avaricious practices of certain monks.¹⁸⁹

Through such inquiries, we catch a glimpse of the papacy’s influence on Welsh society. Three letters from the register of Innocent III concern the proposed marriage of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, the ruler of Gwynedd known as Llywelyn the Great, to an unknown daughter of Rögnvaldr King of the Isles (1187–1229).¹⁹⁰ She had previously been betrothed to Llywelyn’s uncle Rhodri ab Owain Gwynedd (d. 1195).¹⁹¹ Llywelyn was seeking papal blessing for the union in a bid to ensure that he did not contravene Canon Law. In the first letter, written in November 1199, the Bishop of Man, the Archdeacon of Bangor and the Prior of Ynys Lannog were asked to investigate the matter.¹⁹² The Pope provides some background

¹⁸⁷ G. Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, rev. ed., (Cardiff, 1976), pp. 17–18 and *WB*, pp. 602–14.

¹⁸⁸ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 18 144v–145r, Reg. Greg. IX, 3103 and CPR, p. 152; Reg. Greg. IX, 3123 and CPR, p. 153. See H. J. Nicholson, ‘Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St John at Aconbury’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50 (1999), 629–51, Hurlock, *Crusades*, pp. 162–3 and C. Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms: The Lacy Family, 1166–1241*, Manchester Medieval Studies (Manchester, 2014), pp. 221–3. For Bishop Hywel I see ‘ST ASAPH: Bishops’, in *FEA9*, pp. 33–36. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1066-1300/vol9/pp33-36> [accessed 22 March 2016].

¹⁸⁹ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 25a, 36r–46v, Reg. Alex. IV, 3240, CPR, p. 375 and EAWD ii, L.495. For William of Radnor, see Crouch, *Llandaff*, p. xviii.

¹⁹⁰ The events are discussed in the context of Manx history in R. A. McDonald, *Manx Kingship in its Irish Sea Setting 1187–1229: King Rögnvaldr and the Crovan dynasty* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 101–4.

¹⁹¹ Rögnvaldr campaigned on behalf of his son-in-law on Anglesey in 1193, for which see *Brut (RBH)* 1193 (pp. 172–3), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 134; 1193, p. 74), *BS* 1193 (pp. 188–9). See also R. Costain-Russell, ‘The reigns of Guðröðr and Rögnvaldr, 1153–1229’ in S. Duffy and H. Mytum, eds., *A New History of the Isle of Man Volume III: The Medieval Period 1000–1406* (Liverpool, 2015), pp. 78–96 at p. 90 and C. Insley, ‘The Wilderness Years of Llywelyn the Great’, in M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame, eds., *Thirteenth Century England VII*, (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 163–73, at pp. 165–6.

¹⁹² O. Hageneder, W. Malczek, and A. A. Strand, eds., *Die Register Innocenz’ III., 2. Pontifikatsjahr 1199/1200. Texte*, Publikationen der Abteilung für historische Studien des Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom, 2. Abt., 1. Reihe, Bd. 2: Texte, (Rome, 1979); K. Rudolf, et al. *Die Register Innocenz’ III., 2. Pontifikatsjahr 1199/1200. Indices*, Publikationen des historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom, 2.

and some points for the commission to consider. About three years later the Pope confirmed the first inquiry's findings, which had found no impediment because the marriage between the princess and Rhodri had not been consummated. After restating the background, he instructed the Abbot of Aberconwy, the Prior of Bardsey and a canon of Beddgelert to ensure that the decision was observed.¹⁹³ The final letter was addressed to the Bishops of Ely, Norwich and St Asaph, to whom Innocent gave new information, namely that although the princess had been young at the time of her marriage to Rhodri, they had spent two years in each other's company and in the same marriage bed, so it was to be presumed that they had known each other carnally. This was an impediment to legal marriage, and therefore he directed the bishops to conclude the affair.¹⁹⁴ Pryce highlights Llywelyn's use of Canon Law in this incident to secure his position.¹⁹⁵ The first use of Canon law concerned the possibility of securing an ally in his fight to establish himself in Gwynedd; Rögnvaldr had sent military aid to Rhodri ab Owain Gwynedd in 1193 and Llywelyn's position in Gwynedd may well have remained precarious until as late as 1202.¹⁹⁶ Indeed, the dates of the papal letters support the conclusions reached by Insley in his assessment of the civil war in Gwynedd between the death of Owain Gwynedd in 1170 and Llywelyn's eventual triumph. Llywelyn needed the Manx alliance to win his position, but once he had gained prominence, a better alliance became a more appealing possibility and hence his second appeal to Canon law.

Abt., 1. Reihe, Bd. 2: Indices (Rome, 1983), 224, *Calendar*, 168 and CPR, p. 8. For the Priory of Ynys Lannog see *AP*, pp. 169–71.

¹⁹³ O. Hageneder, J. C. Moore, A. Sommerlechner, with C. Egger, and H. Weigl, eds., *Die Register Innocenz' III., 6. Pontifikatsjahr 1203/1204. Texte und Indices*, Publikationen des historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom, 2. Abt., 1. Reihe, Bd. 6: Texte und Indices (Vienna, 1995), 47, *Calendar*, 469 and CPR, p. 13. For Aberconwy, Bardsey and Beddgelert see respectively, *AP*, pp. 32–5, pp. 43–5 and pp. 53–6.

¹⁹⁴ Reg. Inn. III, vii, 220, *Calendar*, 600 and CPR, p. 19.

¹⁹⁵ H. Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 84–6.

¹⁹⁶ Insley, 'Wilderness Years', pp. 171–2.

Llywelyn's change of heart on marriage is perhaps understandable. Marriage to an illegitimate daughter of King John (1199–1216) was preferable to an alliance with the Kingdom of Man as it offered greater stability.¹⁹⁷ Llywelyn took further steps towards stability, including having Joan legitimised by Honorius III in 1226.¹⁹⁸ Four years previously he had gained recognition from Honorius of Dafydd ap Llywelyn (d. 1246), Joan's son, as his sole heir, a scheme previously approved by the legate Pandulf, Henry III and Archbishop Langton at a meeting in Shrewsbury in 1220.¹⁹⁹ Welsh law allowed natural children publicly acknowledged by their fathers to have an equal share of patrimony. Llywelyn had previously recognised Gruffudd, the son of Tangwystl, as his son. One must accept Smith's argument on Honorius's letter, namely that Llywelyn was not seeking, as has sometimes been assumed, to use this document to eradicate the principle of partible inheritance in Wales but to establish the principle of a legitimate son taking precedence over a bastard in matters of inheritance.²⁰⁰ Another letter of Honorius to the Bishops of St Davids, Bangor and St Asaph reveals that Llywelyn had obtained, by order of Henry III, a pledge of fealty to Dafydd from the leading men of Wales.²⁰¹ Llywelyn had his agreements with King John confirmed by Pope

¹⁹⁷ *AoC*, p. 10 and L. J. Wilkinson, 'Joan, Wife of Llywelyn the Great', in M. Prestwich, R. H. Britnell and R. Frame, eds., *Thirteenth Century England X* (Woodbridge, 2005), 81–93, at pp. 82–3 and Stephenson, 'Empires', pp. 37–9.

¹⁹⁸ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 13, f. 122v, Reg. Hon. III, 5906, CPR, p. 109 and *AWR*, 279. For the effect of this confirmation of legitimacy and the letters regarding the naming of Dafydd as heir in enhancing Joan's status see Wilkinson, 'Joan', p. 88.

¹⁹⁹ *AWR*, 253, Reg. Hon. III, 3996, and CPR, p. 87; Rymer, *Foedera*, I.i.159 and *AWR*, p. 416.

²⁰⁰ J. B. Smith, 'Dynastic Succession in Medieval Wales', *BBCS* 33 (1986), 199–232, pp. 218–19, *NL*, pp. 86–7 and D. Stephenson, *Political Power in Medieval Gwynedd: Governance and the Welsh Princes*, 2nd edition, *Studies in Welsh History* 5 (Cardiff, 2014), pp. 153–4.

²⁰¹ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 13, f. 122v, Reg. Hon. III, 5907, CPR, p. 109 and *EAWD* i, D.463. Llywelyn later gathered all the lords of Wales at Strata Florida abbey to swear oaths to himself and Dafydd, though this time without the approval of Henry III, who wrote to several Welsh rulers warning them against pledging fealty to Dafydd. See *Brut (RBH)* 1238 (pp. 234–5), *Brut (Pen. 20)*, (p. 197, 1238 (p. 104), *BS* 1238 (p. 232–3), and for its significance see C. Insley, 'Imitation and Independence in Native Welsh Administrative Culture, c. 1180–1280', in D. Crook and L. J. Wilkinson, eds., *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 104–20, at p. 109. See also H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, ed., *Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry III: Volume 4, 1237–1242* (London, 1911), pp. 123–5 and D. Stephenson, *Medieval Powys: Kingdom, Principality and Lordships, 1132–1293*, *Studies in Celtic History* 35 (Woodbridge, 2016), p. 134.

Honorius.²⁰² All this formed part of Llywelyn's strategy for securing Dafydd's succession in Gwynedd.²⁰³

The significance of Llywelyn's seeking papal approval in these matters cannot be overstated, especially as it illustrates a change of attitude in Gwynedd and a recognition of the papacy's increased importance for Llywelyn and his advisers.²⁰⁴ His grandfather, Owain Gwynedd, had repeatedly ignored Alexander III on marrying within the permitted degrees of consanguinity.²⁰⁵ Diplomatic correspondence with the French court shows that Owain regarded the papacy as an important institution but one which could be ignored without much harm to his position.²⁰⁶ Llywelyn saw the papacy as an institution which could strengthen his hold on Gwynedd. Its support was essential to his strategy of securing the unity of Gwynedd for his son.²⁰⁷ The change in attitude mirrors the papacy's growing power and influence.

This is not to say that Llywelyn had everything his own way in his encounters with the papacy. Several letters were sent to remind Llywelyn to keep the peace with Henry III.

Honorius III reminded him of his duty to the King and instructed him to abandon any oaths given to Louis of France, whilst legate Pandulf was later charged with reminding Llywelyn of

²⁰² J. G. Edwards, ed., *Littere Wallie* (Cardiff, 1940), *Littere*, 303. This letter, along with the previous two documents, was issued within a short space of time in 1226. Stephenson and Jones suggest that the reason for this flurry of activity may have been that Dafydd was to come of age under Welsh law (at fourteen years old) when Llywelyn wrote to Honorius seeking his approval. See D. Stephenson and C. O. Jones, 'The Date and Context of the birth of Dafydd II ap Llywelyn', *Flintshire Historical Society Journal* 39 (2012), 21–32, at pp. 28–30. The text of the letters edited by Edwards derives from 'Liber A', a compilation of letters on a similar subject made in the reign of Edward I, for which see Edwards, *Littere*, pp. xxvii–xxxv and *AoC*, p. 307.

²⁰³ The most celebrated account of Llywelyn's strategy is G. A. Williams, 'The Succession to Gwynedd 1238–1247', *BBCS*, 20 (1962–64), 393–413 and see also *AoC*, pp. 249–50.

²⁰⁴ H. Pryce, 'Welsh Custom and Canon Law, 1150–1300' in K. Pennington, S. Chodorow and K. H. Kendall, eds., *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, Monumenta iuris canonici., Series C, Subsidia, 11 (Vatican City, 2001), pp. 781–97, pp. 785–6.

²⁰⁵ *AoC*, p. 194.

²⁰⁶ For this correspondence, see H. Pryce, 'Owain Gwynedd and Louis VII: The Franco-Welsh diplomacy of the first Prince of Wales', *WHR* 19 (1998–99), 1–28.

²⁰⁷ Llywelyn's respect for Innocent III's position allied to what he feared might happen to Gwynedd should he incur the Pope's wrath plausibly explains his abandonment of his perpetual alliance with Philip Augustus of France (1180–1223) less than a year after concluding a treaty with him. See Chapter 3, p. 109, n. 80.

his obligations under oaths sworn to Henry III.²⁰⁸ Following the hostilities of 1223, Llywelyn's lands were placed under interdict by the Pope in October, with letters sent to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and their suffragans.²⁰⁹ By March 1234, Llywelyn stood accused by royal envoys of disturbing the peace of the realm, possibly for his involvement in the rebellion of Richard Marshal, Earl of Pembroke.²¹⁰ The suffragan bishops of Canterbury doubted whether the situation was as bad as described by the envoys and, as the see of Canterbury was vacant, they would not take action against Llywelyn because he was not under their pastoral care. Gregory IX reminded the Bishops of Durham and Rochester that ecclesiastical censure could be deployed to bring peace to the realm. The Pope's letter may have arrived a little late to have any effect, as Llywelyn had reached accommodation with the Crown in April 1234, before signing the Pact of Myddle in July of that year.²¹¹ A final reminder to Llywelyn was issued two years later in April 1236 when the Archbishop and Archdeacon of Canterbury were instructed to remind Llywelyn of his oaths to Henry III.²¹² Llywelyn again stood accused of fomenting rebellion and disturbing the peace of the realm, in contradiction of papal instruction that there should be peace for four years for the sake of the Holy land. Precisely what led to the issuing of this letter is unknown as Llywelyn does not appear to have made any aggressive move against the Crown. Given the importance Llywelyn placed upon the papacy, it is easy to see how such a letter would have strengthened

²⁰⁸ A. Theiner, ed., *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum* (Rome, 1864), iv, Edwards, *Littere*, 304, Reg. Hon. III, 245 and CPR, p. 43; Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 10, 83r, Reg. Hon. III, 1960 and CPR, p. 64. The text of the former letter in Honorius's register was addressed to the King of Scotland, with a similar letter recorded as being sent to Llywelyn among other recipients. With the letter being sent in January 1217, Bliss is in error in stating that it was addressed to William I of Scotland (1165–1214). For the letter to Pandulf see R. F. Walker, 'Hubert de Burgh and Wales, 1218–1232', *EHR* 82 (1972,) 465–94, p. 470.

²⁰⁹ *Councils*, i., pp. 459–61, Reg. Hon. III, 4517 and 4518, CPR, p. 93, *Original*, 94. See also Sayers, *Honorius*, p. 170. For the events of 1223 see Walker, 'Hubert de Burgh', pp. 473–6.

²¹⁰ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 17, ff. 152v–153r, Reg. Greg. IX, 1827 and CPR, p. 139. For the rebellion see *HoW*, pp. 678–81, R. F. Walker, 'The Supporters of Richard Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, in the rebellion of 1233–1234', *WHR* 17 (1994–95), 41–65, especially pp. 41–4 and pp. 62–3, and Crouch, *Acts and Letters*, pp. 24–6.

²¹¹ Perhaps by coincidence one member of the negotiating party was the Bishop of Rochester, the other leading figure being the Bishop of Coventry. For the Pact of Myddle see *AWR*, 270.

²¹² Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 18, f. 152r, Reg. Greg. IX, 3134 and CPR, p. 153. See also Hurlock, *Crusades*, p. 192.

the Archbishop of Canterbury's hand in negotiating an extension to the Pact of Myddle in July 1236.²¹³

Others in Llywelyn's family appear in these documents. Dafydd ap Llywelyn is mentioned in two letters from Innocent IV. In an attempt to improve the miserable situation he faced in 1241 after being forced to humiliating terms by Henry III, Dafydd appealed to the papacy for arbitration in July 1244, perhaps because of the changed situation following the death of his brother Gruffudd in March of the same year.²¹⁴ It is clear from the letter appointing the Abbots of Aberconwy and Cymer as papal judges-delegate that he requested an inquiry into the manner in which Henry III had negotiated with him in 1241.²¹⁵ He was not, as has previously been argued, seeking to give himself as a vassal to the papacy in a similar manner to King John, his grandfather, or Rögnvaldr, King of the Isles, but he did seek to remind the papacy of the protection granted him by Honorius III.²¹⁶ Dafydd clearly timed his appeal well as it took Henry III by surprise when he heard of it in November 1244 when many of the leading bishops had left England for the First Council of Lyon.²¹⁷ In April 1245 the Pope revoked the abbots' commission, asking two judges more favourable to Henry, the Bishops of

²¹³ AWR, 271.

²¹⁴ J. B. Smith, 'Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Prince Dafydd ap Llywelyn and Tintagel Castle', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* 2010, 31–42, p. 39 and B. G. E. Wiedemann, '“Fooling the court of the Lord Pope”: Dafydd ap Llywelyn's petition to the Curia in 1244', *WHR* 28 (2016–17), 209–32, p. 212. For the treaties of 1241 see Chapter 3, p. 119, n. 141.

²¹⁵ AWR, 306. Dafydd's original letter is cited in a mandate from Innocent IV to the abbots, recorded in the *Chronica Majora* of Mathew Paris. The mandate is not found in the surviving registers of Innocent IV. See Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iv.398–9 and M. Salmon, trans., *A Source-Book of Welsh History* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 150–1. See also Wiedemann, 'Fooling', pp. 213–15 and M. Richter, 'David ap Llywelyn, The First Prince of Wales', *WHR* 5 (1970–71), 205–219, at pp. 208–210.

²¹⁶ See above, pp. 84–5, nn. 197–202 and Wiedemann, 'Fooling', pp. 220–5, pp. 228–30 and cf. Richter, 'David', pp. 209–13 and Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 51–3. On King John's submission see Cheney, *Innocent III*, pp. 326–56. Rögnvaldr of Man submitted to the papacy in 1219, with the first witness to his letter of submission being Bishop Cadwgan of Bangor, perhaps suggesting that he played an important part in assisting Rögnvaldr. It is unusual in that the letter was entered into the register of Honorius III twice; papal registers were usually used to record outgoing letters. The letter is edited in P. Fabre, and L. Duchesne, eds., *Le Liber censuum de l'Église Romaine*, 3 vols., (Paris, 1889–1952), i, pp. 260–1 and translated in Lunt, *Papal Revenue*, 226. See also McDonald, *Manx Kingship*, pp. 143–52, Costain-Russell, 'Guðröðr and Rögnvaldr', p. 93 and Goering and Pryce, 'De Modo Confitendi' p. 5, nn. 24–5.

²¹⁷ Wiedemann, 'Fooling', pp. 216–17.

Carlisle and Ely, to execute his orders.²¹⁸ Richter's explanation of the Pope's rejection of Dafydd ap Llywelyn at first seems compelling. He argues that papal protection was withdrawn from Gwynedd in exchange for the payment of tribute due from Henry III and for English support for papal policy at the First Council of Lyon. Innocent IV was able to use Dafydd ap Llywelyn's political manoeuvring to strengthen the papacy's financial and political positions in his conflict with Emperor Frederick II (1220–50).²¹⁹ This line of argument has recently been criticised by Wiedeman, who emphasises Dafydd's use of the "routinization" of papal bureaucracy in an attempt to challenge the humiliating terms of 1241 and earn himself room for political manoeuvre.²²⁰ Dafydd certainly chose the judges he nominated well given his family's support for the Cistercians and for Aberconwy and Cymer in particular.²²¹ Although this move ultimately failed to protect Dafydd, it again demonstrates an appreciation of the papacy's power.

Two of Clement IV's letters to the legate Ottobuono concern Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the grandson of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. The first mandates the legate to induce Llywelyn to end his alliance with Simon de Montfort and pay compensation for damage done in his name.²²² If he did not comply, Llywelyn was to be excommunicated and his lands placed under interdict. The second letter granted Ottobuono the right to absolve Llywelyn and others of their oaths of fealty to de Montfort.²²³ Both letters were issued at Perugia in September 1265, a month after de Montfort's defeat at Evesham. Although they were therefore without purpose, the letters set the tone for Ottobuono's interaction with the Welsh. He would

²¹⁸ *Councils*, i., pp. 471–2 and *Original*, 277. See also Richter, 'David', pp. 214–215 and Wiedemann, 'Fooling', pp. 218–19.

²¹⁹ Richter, 'David', pp. 215–217.

²²⁰ Wiedemann, 'Fooling', especially pp. 213–16, pp. 219–20 and pp. 231–2. See also Meyer,

²²¹ See Stephenson, *Political Power*, pp. 33–4, especially p. 33, n. 29 and for the appointment of judges-delegate see Müller, 'Omnipresent Pope', p. 212.

²²² Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 32, ff. 62r–v, Reg. Clement IV, 231, CPR, p. 431 and *Original*, 709.

²²³ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 32, f. 62v, Reg. Clement IV, 232, CPR, p. 431, *Original*, 710 and EAWD i, L. 505.

eventually lead peace negotiations between Llywelyn and the Crown, resulting in the Treaty of Montgomery in 1267.²²⁴

Observance of this treaty lies behind a letter of Gregory X to Edward I written from the Second Council of Lyon in 1274.²²⁵ Gregory reminded Edward to observe the agreement made between his father and Llywelyn.²²⁶ On the same day, he issued two further letters concerning Llywelyn's affairs. He confirmed the agreement made between Llywelyn and his brother Dafydd, which had been mediated by the Bishops of Bangor and St Asaph, and wrote to Robert Kilwardby (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1273–78), asking him not to summon Llywelyn and his subjects to England, provided that they were willing to appear before commissioners in Wales.²²⁷ The latter two letters appear to be directly concerned with the conspiracy to overthrow Llywelyn with which Dafydd was involved and with Llywelyn's quarrel with Anian II, Bishop of St Asaph (1268–93).²²⁸ In all three cases, Llywelyn was using the papacy to secure his own position.²²⁹

The capture of Eleanor de Montfort and her brother Amaury de Montfort, a papal chaplain, by Edward I in the Winter of 1275 is another incident of note in papal letters.²³⁰ Llywelyn had married Eleanor *per verba de presenti* and arranged for her to travel to him from France.²³¹ Eleanor and Amaury were the children of Simon de Montfort, and the renewal of

²²⁴ AWR 363 and see J. B. Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd: Prince of Wales* (Cardiff, 2014), pp. 177–180.

²²⁵ London, The National Archives SC 7/47/3, and *Original*, 766.

²²⁶ The Pope may have been aware of the treaty's details as he had served Ottobuono during his time as legate in England. See Smith, *Llywelyn*, p. 381, p.389 and AWR, p. 570.

²²⁷ *Councils*, i., pp. 501–2, AWR, 382 and *Original*, 765. See also Stephenson, *Political Power*, p. 175; *Councils*, i., pp. 500–1, AWR, 381 and *Original*, 767.

²²⁸ Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 369–82, *AoC*, pp. 323–6 and Stephenson, *Powys*, pp. 144–51.

²²⁹ It is presumed that all three letters were issued in response to petitions made to Pope Gregory by Llywelyn which do not survive.

²³⁰ The situation is explained in Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 390–402.

²³¹ *Ibid.* pp. 393–6 and pp. 397–8. They would be married in person at Worcester in 1278. Edward I paid for the wedding feast and gave the bride away. See *ibid.*, pp. 448–50.

this old alliance clearly posed problems for the King. Even leaving aside his understandable animosity towards the de Montfort family after the Barons' War, the King further distrusted them after the murder of his cousin and emissary Henry of Almain by Simon and Guy de Montfort in a church in Viterbo in 1271.²³² Edward captured the siblings at sea, detaining Eleanor for almost three years and Amaury until December 1282.²³³ These differences are reflected in the papal letters. Several Popes were concerned with the case including, amazingly given that his reign as lasted from 11 July to 18 August 1276, Adrian V. Edward I wrote to him twice to explain the situation, arguing that Llywelyn had arranged the marriage to cause disturbances in the realm and that he would only release Amaury if the archbishops and bishops would guarantee Amaury's good conduct.²³⁴ The second letter was used by the King to complain of Llywelyn's failure to pay homage to him.²³⁵ In January 1277, John XXI (1276–77) asked Edward I to release Eleanor and also wrote to the prelates of the realm asking them to press the King to release Amaury.²³⁶ Three further letters concerning Amaury's release were sent by Nicholas III (1277–80) in February 1280, and a final three were sent by Martin IV pleading Amaury's case in September 1281.²³⁷ It seems unlikely that these letters had much influence on Edward I. Eleanor was released after the conclusion of hostilities in 1276–77 and Amaury at their commencement in 1282. In this case, the King paid far more heed to his domestic concerns than to the papacy's requests.

²³² Ibid., pp. 391–3.

²³³ Ibid., pp. 396–7 and pp. 399–401.

²³⁴ N. Denholm-Young, ed., *The Liber Epistolaris of Richard de Bury* (Oxford, for the Roxburghe Club 1950), 23. Denholm-Young suggested that Edward I was inspired to write to Adrian V by their personal connection; Adrian V was the papal legate Ottobuono who had negotiated the Treaty of Montgomery.

²³⁵ P. Chaplais, ed., *Treaty Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office I: 1234–1325* (London, 1955), 135. For comment on both letters see J. B. Smith, 'Offra Principis wallie Domino Regi', *BBCS*, 21 (1964–6), 362–7, at pp. 364–5.

²³⁶ Reg. John XXI, 78–9 and CPR, p. 452. See also Smith, 'Offra', p. 365. It is apparent in this letter that Llywelyn had written to Gregory X to complain of the matter. *AWR*, p. 580.

²³⁷ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 39, ff. 235v–236v, J. Gay, and S. Vitte, eds., *Les registres de Nicolas III (1277–1280)*, Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 2nd ser. xiv (Paris, 1898–1938), 629–31 and CPR, p. 461; Reg. Martin I, 18, CPR, p. 463 and Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 41, ff. 10v–11r, Reg. Martin IV, 19–20 and CPR, p. 463.

The involvement of the Marcher Lords and the English Crown in Welsh matters is noticeable in these letters. We have already seen that accusations against Welsh princes by the Crown might be brought before the papacy but we also see the papacy granting benefits in Wales. As he had taken the Cross, Innocent IV granted Henry III protection of his family, possessions and lands, with lands in Wales amongst those listed.²³⁸ Gregory X granted similar protection to the future Edward I in July 1272 so that he could prosecute his crusade more vigorously.²³⁹ A similar guarantee of protection, though without the crusading vows, had previously been given to Gilbert Marshal, along with his brothers Walter and Anselm, by Gregory IX who granted them protection of lands in Wales and Ireland.²⁴⁰ Gilbert and his brothers had returned to the King's favour following the unsuccessful rebellion of their elder brother Richard Marshal for just over a year when this letter was issued, and they perhaps sought to secure their lands should any complication arise.²⁴¹ Henry III was also granted the right to collect tithes in Wales by Innocent IV, a right confirmed and extended by Alexander IV in March 1255.²⁴² The King received a similar privilege from Clement IV in June 1266.²⁴³ There are glimpses of Welsh life in the documents. In September 1264, Urban IV issued a mandate to Homodeus de Crema, papal subdeacon, and Bartholomew de Turano, canon of St. Timothy's, Rheims, to compel the debtors, including clerks and laymen, of a group of Florentine merchants to repay their debts. The original letter discusses debts owed in France, but the manuscript demonstrates that the mandate extended to Welsh debtors.²⁴⁴ By the time

²³⁸ Vatican City, ASV Reg. Vat. 23, f. 19v, Reg. Inn. IV, 6985, CPR, p. 290 and *PH*, 371. For Henry III and the crusade see C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 111–23 and B. K. U. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufien Empire, 1216–1272* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 140–6.

²³⁹ Rymer, *Foedera*, I.i.495 and *Original*, 739. Whilst still known as Tedaldo Visconti, the pope had met Edward at Acre. For Edward as a crusader see M. Prestwich, *Edward I*, Yale English Monarchs (Yale, 1997), pp. 66–85 and for Welsh and Marcher participation in Edward's crusade see Hurlock, *Crusades*, pp. 115–19.

²⁴⁰ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, lxxxi, Reg. Greg. IX, 2642, CPR, p. 147 and *PH*, 226.

²⁴¹ For the life of Gilbert Marshal, see above, p. 62, n. 71, and for the problems he faced following his return to favour see D. Crouch, 'Earl Gilbert Marshal and his mortal enemies', *Historical Research* 87 (2014), 393–403, at pp. 399–403. For the lives of his brothers, see Crouch, *Acts and Letters*, pp. 32–7.

²⁴² *PH*, 400, Reg. Alex. IV, 384 and CPR, p. 314.

²⁴³ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum* cclviii, Reg. Clement IV, 320 and CPR, p. 432.

²⁴⁴ Reg. Urban IV, 945 and CPR, p. 404.

the letter was issued, Welsh clerics and laymen had already borrowed enough from Italian merchants to be worth pursuing.

A letter from Alexander IV to Boniface of Savoy (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1241–70) offers a similar glimpse of Wales’s economic state.²⁴⁵ Alexander chided Boniface in a letter of April 1255 for failing to visit the four Welsh dioceses on account of war and the lack of sustenance available.²⁴⁶ Visits by the metropolitan were very rare. Baldwin (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1184–90) and John Pecham (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1279–1292) visited in 1187 and 1188, and in 1284 respectively, but no other visits are known.²⁴⁷ Assuming that the reasons for not visiting the Welsh dioceses were originally given by Boniface, they must have seemed poor excuses to Alexander IV.²⁴⁸ However, the reasons highlighted by Alexander deserve greater attention. The reference to war perhaps suggests the fighting between the sons of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Iorwerth before the battle of Bryn Derwin in June 1255.²⁴⁹ The letter mentions the lack of food to sustain a visit by the archbishop. Perhaps this indicates the high standards a noble of Savoy might expect of his surroundings. It might also lead us to conclude that there were poor economic conditions in the Welsh dioceses in the mid-1250s, chiming with Gerald of Wales’s comment that all the Welsh sees were poor.²⁵⁰ We may consider in this context the information provided in the assessment of the value of

²⁴⁵ For Boniface see C. H. Knowles, ‘Savoy, Boniface of (1206/7–70)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2844?docPos=1>, accessed 30 April 2016]

²⁴⁶ Reg. Alex. IV, 407 and CPR, p. 315. The letter’s first sentence reads: *Ex parte tua fuit propositum coram nobis quod, cum tuam provinciam visitas, quatuor dioceses ipsius provincie in Wallia constitutas propter guerrarum discrimina, penuriam victualium et plura impedimenta alia interdum non potes commode visitare.*

²⁴⁷ H. Pryce, ‘Church and Society in Wales. 1150–1250: An Irish Perspective’ in R. R. Davies, ed., *The British Isles 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections*, (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 27–47, at p. 32.

²⁴⁸ The words *plura impedimenta alia* suggest this.

²⁴⁹ AoC, pp. 308–9 and Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 65–77.

²⁵⁰ See R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 2006), p. 46, n. 97 and the references found there. For the measures taken by bishops of St Davids to counteract this poverty see H. Pryce, ‘In search of a Medieval Society: Deheubarth in the writings of Gerald of Wales’, *WHR* 13 (1986–87), 265–81, at pp. 275–7.

ecclesiastical property known as the *Valuation of Norwich*, undertaken by Walter Suffield (Bishop of Norwich, 1244–57) at the behest of Innocent IV.²⁵¹ This valuation formed the basis for the payment of annates to the papacy until the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291. The valuation as we have it is incomplete, but provides information regarding the value of property in the dioceses of Bangor, Llandaff and St Asaph.²⁵² In the surviving survey the total value of properties in Bangor was assessed at £160 4s 7d, in Llandaff at £838 8s 4d and in St Asaph at £290 9s 2d, all of which are considerably less valuable than comparable sees in England.²⁵³ Boniface of Savoy's complaints may not have been baseless.

A similar picture emerges from the documents of the *collectoriae* held at the Vatican.²⁵⁴ These are concerned with tax gathered in the papacy's name. Two documents mention Wales, giving the recipients the power to demand that tax be collected.²⁵⁵ Wales is also mentioned in a report on the collection of tax.²⁵⁶ One difficulty mentioned in collecting tax in these records is the war of 1276–77 between Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and Edward I. The collectors, Arditio of Milan and John of Darlington, were informed that it would be dangerous to collect tax in England as all the King's armies would be in Wales and no one would protect them from robbery; as a result of the war, collection in Wales appears to have been impossible.²⁵⁷ No record of what, if anything, was collected survives.

²⁵¹ W. E. Lunt, ed., *The Valuation of Norwich* (Oxford, 1926). For the bishop's career see C. Harper-Bill, '“Above all these Charity”: the Career of Walter Suffield, Bishop of Norwich, 1244–57' in P. Hoskin, C. Brooke and B. Dobson, eds., *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 27 (Woodbridge, 2005), 94–110.

²⁵² See, respectively, Lunt, *Valuation*, pp. 169–70 and pp. 190–6, pp. 176–8 and pp. 314–25, pp. 183–4 and pp. 467–3.

²⁵³ Lunt draws comparison with the dioceses of Durham, Ely and Norwich which were valued respectively at £3839 4s. 3d., £2635 8s. 10.5d and £14,487 8 s. 9.75d. As Lunt highlighted, the figure for Bangor may be incomplete due to a defect in the manuscript. Lunt, *Valuation*, p. 118.

²⁵⁴ The relevant documents for Britain are printed in W. E. Lunt, 'A Papal tenth levied in the British Isles from 1274–1280', *EHR*, 32 (1917), 49–89.

²⁵⁵ Lunt, 'Papal tenth', 8 and 11. Document number 8 in Lunt's edition of the texts was translated by him in, Lunt, *Papal Revenue*, 44.

²⁵⁶ Lunt, 'Papal tenth', 30.

²⁵⁷ Lunt, 'Papal tenth', 13 and Lunt, *Papal Revenue*, 74. See also Lunt, 'Papal tenth', 24.

Despite papal authorisation, it seems unlikely that other papal levies, such as Peter's Pence, were ever collected in Wales.²⁵⁸ Urban IV instructed Master Leonard, Cantor of Messina, to collect Peter's Pence in Wales in 1262 and Martin IV instructed Geoffrey of Vezzano to do so in a letter of March 1282.²⁵⁹ Subsequent letters instruct Geoffrey to inquire into how papal levies had been conducted.²⁶⁰ A further list of the expected payments from different churches does not mention a foundation in Wales at all, though Wales is mentioned at the start of the letter.²⁶¹ Martin IV also authorised Geoffrey to collect money for use in the Holy Land.²⁶² The export of this tenth was halted by Edward I in May 1282 and may have been used to finance his campaign against Llywelyn and Dafydd ap Gruffudd in 1282–83.²⁶³

A final letter concerns Bishop Mauger of Worcester, who wrote to Innocent III complaining that he and his people could not appear before judges in Wales without risking their safety owing to the permanent state of conflict between the Welsh and English.²⁶⁴ Innocent advised Mauger to refer all such requests to appear before judges to the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See. Read alone, the letter might be taken as evidence for conditions along the Welsh border at the turn of the thirteenth century, perhaps an indication of the aftermath of the campaign led by Gwenwynwyn ab Owain Cyfeiliog of Powys (d. 1216) between 1196 and 1198.²⁶⁵ It

²⁵⁸ Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 18–19. See also Chapter 1, p. 13, n. 34.

²⁵⁹ Reg. Urban, IV 132, Lunt, *Papal Revenue*, 473, CPR, p. 383; G. Rudolph, with T. Frenz, eds., *Das Kammerregister Papst Martins IV (Reg. Vat. 42)* (Vatican City, 2007), 122 and CPR, p. 475.

²⁶⁰ *Das Kammerregister Papst Martins IV*, 123 and 124 and CPR, p. 475. Wales is not mentioned directly in the first of these letters.

²⁶¹ *Das Kammerregister Papst Martins IV*, 125 and CPR, pp. 475–6.

²⁶² *Das Kammerregister Papst Martins IV*, 127 and CPR, p. 476.

²⁶³ *Foedera*, I.ii. 608. Edward's actions drew condemnation from Martin IV who ordered the return of the money. According to a letter by Archbishop Pecham, Edward had paid the money back by the end of November 1283. Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 336–7, id., 'Papal taxation in the reign of Edward I', *EHR* 30 (1915), 398–417, at pp. 410–11 and Hurlock, *Crusades*, p. 204, and the references found here.

²⁶⁴ O. Hageneder, with C. Egger, K. Rudolf, and A. Sommerlechner, eds., *Die Register Innocenz' III., 5. Pontifikatsjahr 1202/1203. Texte*, Publikationen des historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom, 2. Abt., 1. Reihe, Bd. 5: Texte, (Vienna, 1993); A. Sommerlechner, with C. Egger, and H. Weigl, *Die Register Innocenz' III., 5. Pontifikatsjahr 1202/1203. Indices*, Publikationen des historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom, 2. Abt., 1. Reihe, Bd. 5: Indices (Vienna, 1994), 22. Innocent III's letter is clearly a response to a letter sent by Mauger, CPR, p. 10 and *Calendar*, 406.

²⁶⁵ Stephenson, *Powys*, pp. 80–1, *AoC*, p. 229 and *HoW*, pp. 582–7.

might even be taken as suggesting that the Bishop of Worcester was at times subject to Welsh law. Seen in its full context, the letter offers a greater interest. Mauger was known personally to Innocent III, having travelled to Rome to secure his election as Bishop of Worcester. As the illegitimate son of a knight and a free woman, Mauger was seemingly barred by canons of the Third Lateran Council from becoming a bishop. Whilst accepting that Mauger had been elected illegally, therefore quashing the election, Innocent III exercised his discretion in allowing the monks of Worcester to secure a dispensation for Mauger, before consecrating him personally.²⁶⁶ The bishop seems likely to have been a contemporary of Gerald of Wales at Paris, and one from whom Gerald presumed support at the beginning of his campaign to ratify his election as Bishop of St Davids.²⁶⁷ Even if he had had sympathy for Gerald's cause, by the beginning of 1202 Mauger would have come under great pressure to align his position with that of the Crown and the Archbishop of Canterbury, at least to judge by the correspondence of Hubert Walter (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1193–1205) and letters patent of King John.²⁶⁸ This was a time when Mauger had been named as a papal commissioner inquiring into Gerald's twin causes of the status of St Davids and his election. Caught between the Scylla and Charybdis of disappointing an acquaintance and contradicting the wishes of two men to whom he had sworn obedience, Mauger sought to extricate himself from a difficult situation by appealing to the papacy for assistance. He exaggerated the dangers for Englishmen in Wales in order to achieve his aim.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ Cheney, *Innocent III*, pp. 142–3 and *English Episcopal Acta 34: Worcester 1186–1218*, ed. M. Cheney, D. Smith, C. Brooke and P. M. Hoskin (Oxford, 2008), p. xxxv.

²⁶⁷ EEA 34, p. xxxiv.

²⁶⁸ EAWD i, D.335 and D.346.

²⁶⁹ If this thesis is correct, it is likely that Mauger wrote to Innocent III following the first abortive hearing at Worcester on January 26, 1202 for which see Gerald of Wales, *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae*, III (GCO iii.200–210), *Autobiography*, pp. 227–30, EAWD i, pp. 220–2 and J. C. Davies, 'Giraldus Cambrensis 1146–1946', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 99 (1946–7), 85–108 and 256–80, pp. 266–7. Mauger was not present at this hearing.

Through the documents issued by the papacy we see that the ideal represented by Gerald of Wales's work was reflected in reality. It certainly seems that St Davids benefited from Gerald's example because more papal documents concerning St Davids survive than for the other Welsh sees even without Gerald's own substantial contribution. Furthermore, individuals and institutions are seen turning to the papacy for assistance and restitution. Urban of Llandaff attempted to use the papacy to secure an enriched future for his diocese; Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and his descendants repeatedly used the papacy to try to secure their polity's future. This was in contrast to Owain Gwynedd, who saw the papacy as an institution which might be safely ignored. We also see the integration of the Welsh Church into the European mainstream through papal confirmation of the acquisition of land by foreign churches, the issuing of orders to assist the papacy and the imposition of ecclesiastical discipline in Welsh lands. The chance glimpses of Wales are fascinating in their incidental detail. We also see the limited development of knowledge of Wales in Rome. By the end of the period under consideration, the Welsh were no longer Paschal II's barbarians, but well enough known to be treated on an equal footing with England and Scotland regarding preaching the crusade (even if institutional knowledge of Wales did not progress beyond this point). It seems that Rome was indeed becoming more important to Welsh life than the distant pilgrimage centre it had been before the twelfth century.

CHAPTER 3: ROME AND THE PAPACY IN WELSH SOURCES, PART I

Gerald of Wales's idea of the papacy was to a degree reflected in Welsh contacts with the institution as revealed in papal documents. What might be said of Welsh knowledge and acknowledgement of the papacy? What evidence is there in Welsh sources to support Davies's contention that Rome was more than a pilgrimage centre at the end of our period?

Rome and the papacy in Welsh chronicles

Surviving evidence suggests that historical writing began in Wales during the late eighth century, both at St Davids and in North Wales, quite probably at Abergele.¹ The motivation for compiling annals remains unknown, but Hughes suggested that it may have been sparked by interest in calculating the date of Easter.² The original language of these annals was Latin, and for some time they have been known under the modern collective title *Annales Cambriae* despite growing recognition that this title is unsuitable and misleading as it gives the impression that the five principal manuscripts are variations on one chronicle. Although they are interrelated, they are five separate chronicles mainly concerned with Welsh history until around the time of the Edwardian conquest.

The five manuscripts considered here are given the following sigla by Dumville, with the names recently adopted by the Welsh Chronicles Research Group also given:³

¹*Annales Cambriae, A. D. 682–954: Texts A–C in Parallel*, ed. and trans. D. N. Dumville (Cambridge, 2002), p. ix, J. E. Lloyd, 'The Welsh Chronicles', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xiv (1928), 369–91, pp. 382–3 and K. Hughes 'The Welsh Latin chronicles: *Annales Cambriae* and related texts' in *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. D. Dumville (Woodville, 1980), pp. 67–85, p. 68 and especially n. 13, B. Guy, 'The Origins of the Compilation of Welsh Historical Texts in Harley 3859', *SC* 49 (2015), 21–56, at pp. 27–30. On the chronicle's development see T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 347–59.

² Hughes 'The Welsh Latin chronicles', p. 69, n. 15.

³ Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, p. vi and p. viii and <http://croniclau.bangor.ac.uk/chronicles.php.en>, viewed 6 April 2019.

A, the Harleian Chronicle: London, British Library, MS. Harley 3859, ff 190r–130r [s.

xi/xii]⁴

B, the Breviate Chronicle: London, National Archives, MS. E.164/1, ff. 1r–13r [s. xiii/xiv]⁵

C, the Cottonian Chronicle: London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A. i, ff. 138r–155r [s. xiii]⁶

D, *Chronica ante aduentum domini*: Exeter Cathedral Library, 3514, pp. 523–8 [s. xiii]⁷

E, *Cronicon de Wallia*: Exeter Cathedral Library, 3514, pp. 507–19 [s. xiii]⁸

⁴ Partly edited and translated in Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*. Edited and translated in full in J. Morris, ed. and trans., *Nennius: British History and The Welsh Annals*, Arthurian Sources 8 (London, 1980), pp. 44–9 and pp. 85–91. Edited in full *Annales Cambriae: The A-Text From British Library, Harley MS 3859, ff. 190r–193r*, ed. H. Gough-Cooper, http://croniclau.bangor.ac.uk/documents/AC_A_first_edition.pdf, viewed 15 April 2016. Translated in full P. M. Remfry, trans., *Annales Cambriae: A Translation of Harleian 3859; PRO E.164/1; Cotton Domitian, A. i; Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3514 and MS Exchequer DB Neath, PRO E.164/1* (Shrewsbury, 2007), pp. 155–62. For the chronicle, see Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, pp. vii–viii, Remfry, *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 4–10 and B. Guy, Op. cit.

⁵ Partly edited and translated in Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*. Edited in full *Annales Cambriae: The B-Text From London, National Archives, MS E164/1, pp. 2–26*, ed. H. Gough-Cooper, <http://croniclau.bangor.ac.uk/documents/AC%20B%20first%20edition.pdf>, viewed 23 October 2015. Translated in full Remfry, *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 163–201. For the chronicle, see Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, p. viii and Remfry, *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 10–26.

⁶ Partly edited and translated in Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*. Edited in parallel with manuscript B for the years 1035–93 as an appendix in J. E. Lloyd, ‘Wales and the Coming of the Normans (1039–1093)’, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1899/1900), 122–79, at pages pp. 165–79. Edited in full *Annales Cambriae: The C-Text From London, British Library, Cotton MS Domitian A. i, ff. 138r–155r With an appended concordance of intercalated notices*, ed. H. Gough-Cooper, <http://croniclau.bangor.ac.uk/documents/AC%20C%20first%20edition.pdf>, viewed 23 October 2015. Translated in Remfry, *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 202–29. For the chronicle see Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, p. viii and Remfry, *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 27–31.

⁷ The chronicle for the years 1254–85 appears as text IV in T. Jones, ‘Cronica de Wallia’ and other Documents from Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3514’, *BBCS* 12 (1946), 27–44, at pp. 42–4. Edited in full *Annales Cambriae: The D text From Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3514, pp. 523–8*, ed. H. Gough-Cooper, <http://croniclau.bangor.ac.uk/documents/AC%20D%20first%20edition.pdf>, viewed 23 October 2015. I am grateful to Dr. Georgia Henley for her generosity in allowing me to use her edition and translation of the text. The text is translated in full in Remfry, *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 230–47. For the chronicle see Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, p. viii. For the manuscript of this and the subsequent chronicle see J. Crick, ‘The Power and the Glory: Conquest and Cosmology in Edwardian Wales (Exeter Cathedral Library 3514)’, in O. da Rold and E. Treharne, eds., *Textual Cultures: Cultural Texts, Essays and Studies* 2010 (Woodbridge, 2010), 21–42.

⁸ The chronicle appears edited in full as text I in Jones, ‘Cronica de Wallia’, pp. 29–41. Also edited in full *Annales Cambriae: The E text From Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3514, pp. 507–19*, ed. H. Gough-Cooper, http://croniclau.bangor.ac.uk/documents/AC_E_First_Edition%20%20.pdf, viewed 15 April 2016. Translated in full by Remfry, *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 230–47. For the chronicle see Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, p. viii, J. B. Smith, ‘The “Cronica de Wallia” and the dynasty of Dinefwr: A Textual and Historical Study’, *BBCS* 20 (1962–4), 261–82 and Remfry, *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 32–4.

It is customary to connect this group of chronicles with another group written in Middle Welsh and known collectively as *Brut y Tywysogyon*.⁹ In this group, we deal with three different redactions. Two are known under the name *Brut y Tywysogyon*, with one based on the Peniarth 20 manuscript¹⁰ and another on the Red Book of Hergest.¹¹ The third redaction is known by the title *Brenhinedd y Saesson*.¹² All three redactions were consciously designed as continuations of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regnum Britanniae*, with each one beginning where Geoffrey's narrative ends.¹³ In his lecture 'The Welsh Chronicles' Lloyd demonstrated that *Brut y Tywysogyon* was three independent translations of the same Latin chronicles.¹⁴ *Brut y Tywysogyon* tends to have far fuller entries than the Welsh Latin annals, which led Thomas Jones and J. B. Smith to argue that the translators of *Brut y Tywysogyon* elaborated their sources.¹⁵ More recent research by David Stephenson and O. W. Jones has reconsidered this position, with it being argued that the fourteenth-century translators of *Brut y Tywysogyon* were using fuller Latin chronicles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which are now lost, as the basis of their translation, thus making *Brut y Tywysogyon* a more contemporaneous source than previous scholars had considered it to be.¹⁶ Lloyd described *Brut y Tywysogyon* as a "sober, pedestrian chronicle, occasionally waxing eloquent, but as a

⁹ The most penetrating discussion of this group is O. W. Jones, *Historical Writing in Medieval Wales* (Bangor University, PhD Thesis, 2013), especially pp. 184–286, which also deals with the Welsh Latin annals, and id., 'Brut y Tywysogion: the History of the Princes and Twelfth-Century Cambro-Latin Historical Writing', in L. L. Gathagan and W. North, eds., *The Haskins Society Journal* 26 (2014) (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 209–27, especially pp. 209–12.

¹⁰ *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20*, ed. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1941) and translated in *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20*, trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1952).

¹¹ *Brut y Tywysogyon: Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1955).

¹² *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, ed. and trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1971). See also J. B. Smith, 'Historical Writing in Medieval Wales: The Composition of *Brenhinedd y Saesson*', *SC* 42 (2008), 55–86.

¹³ T. Jones, 'Historical Writing in Medieval Welsh', *Scottish Studies* 12 (1968), 15–27, p. 18 and p. 23, Smith, 'Historical Writing', p. 56 and pp. 59–62 and Jones, *Historical Writing*, pp. 35–6.

¹⁴ Lloyd, 'Welsh Chronicles', pp. 378–9, and supported by T. Jones, *Brut y Tywysogion* (Cardiff, 1953), pp. 11–15.

¹⁵ Jones, 'Historical Writing', pp. 22–7, J. B. Smith, 'Castell Gwyddgrug', *BBCS* 26 (1974–76), 74–7 and id., 'Historical Writing', pp. 56–7.

¹⁶ D. Stephenson, *Medieval Powys: Kingdom, Principality and Lordships, 1132–1293*, *Studies in Celtic History* 35 (Woodbridge, 2016), p. 25, id., 'The "resurgence" of Powys in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries' in C. P. Lewis, ed., *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (2007), pp. 182–95, pp. 184–9, id., 'Welsh Chronicles' Accounts of the Mid-Twelfth Century', *CMCS* 56 (Winter, 2008), 45–57, Jones, *Historical Writing*, pp. 204–38, especially pp. 228–30, and id., 'Brut y Tywysogion', pp. 212–15.

rule content to record the simple facts.”¹⁷ It is a fair reflection of *Brut y Tywysogyon*, and might equally be applied to the Welsh Latin Annals.

Another relevant text is the little studied chronicle known as *O Oes Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau*.¹⁸ Focussed on Gwynedd, it was written at some point in the first half of the thirteenth century, with a significant revision c. 1265.¹⁹ The information it contains suggests that it was produced at the Cistercian abbey of Aberconwy.²⁰

The earliest entries in the chronicles provide few details of Welsh relations with Rome. Three early entries pertain to the date of Easter. The first records the changing of the date by Pope Leo in 453.²¹ The entry for 665 notes the first celebration of Easter by the Saxons,²² whilst the changing of the date of Easter by Elfoddwy is noted for 768.²³ From these entries we gather that the annalist had a particular interest in calculating the correct date of Easter. Why 768 was chosen as the date to change Easter is unknown, although Dumville, following Harrison, suggests that it might have been to avoid a crisis of calculation the following year.²⁴ The annals record Elfoddwy dying in 809 and little more is known about him.²⁵ Through his

¹⁷ Lloyd, ‘Welsh Chronicles’, p. 370. On the literary qualities of *Brut y Tywysogyon*, especially the eulogies for the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth (d. 1197) see G. Henley, ‘Rhetoric, Translation and Historiography: the Literary Qualities of *Brut y Tywysogyon*’, *Quaestio Insularis* 13 (2012), 94–123.

¹⁸ Discussed in Jones, *Historical Writing*, pp. 287–316 and edited with translation at *ibid.*, pp. 409–21.

¹⁹ Jones, *Historical Writing*, p. 299.

²⁰ Jones, *Historical Writing*, pp. 300–1.

²¹ A 453 (p. 1; p. 156), B 453 (p. 21; p. 164), C 453 (p. 9; p. 203). This is incorrect and is likely to refer to Pope Leo’s letters concerning the calculation of the date of Easter. See D. N. Dumville, ‘Annales Cambriae and Easter’, *The Medieval Chronicle* 3 (2004), 40–50, pp. 41–2.

²² A 665 (p. 11; p. 158), B 665 (p. 29; p. 166). Another confused statement, but this must refer to the aftermath of the Synod of Whitby in 664.

²³ Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, 768, pp. 6–7.

²⁴ Harrison gives examples of different methods of calculating Easter providing different answers as to the correct date of celebration. When these methods were in concord, an opportunity arose to change from one method of calculating to another without disturbance. See K. Harrison, *The Framework of Anglo-Saxon History to A.D. 900* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 59–61 and pp. 92–3. 768 may also have been at the end of an 84-year cycle, and therefore the following year may have marked an appropriate time for reform to occur. See Dumville, ‘Annales Cambriae and Easter’, p. 45.

²⁵ Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, 809, pp. 8–9. See also N. K. Chadwick, ‘Early Culture and Learning in North Wales’ in N. K. Chadwick, ed., *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 29–120 at p. 44 and Guy, ‘Origins’, p. 28.

actions, or at least through intermediaries, we see the first recorded influence of the Roman Church on the Welsh.

Several early entries follow the form ‘x died in Rome’, and provide little further information. All the people mentioned in annals that follow this pattern are male, and all but one is a secular ruler. In both the Peniarth 20 and the Red Book of Hergest traditions of *Brut y Tywysogyon* a death in Rome occurs in the very first entry, that of Cadwaldr Fendigaid, Cadwaladr the Blessed.²⁶ It seems likely that this record derives either from the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who confuses Cadwaladr with the West Saxon ruler Cædwalla who Bede mentions as dying in Rome, or from an earlier work of “pseudo-learning”.²⁷ The entry for Cadwaladr is followed by the deaths of Cyngen of Powys,²⁸ a Hywel²⁹ and Joseph, Bishop of Teilo.³⁰ Two references to external rulers journeying to Rome are also found in all versions of the *Brut*. These are Dyfnwal of Strathclyde³¹ and Donnchadh uí Brian.³² Both entries conform to the same pattern as for the Welsh rulers of recording the event but not providing further information.

²⁶ *Brut (RBH)* 682 (pp. 2–3), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 1; 682, p. 1).

²⁷ *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, ed. and trans. R. Bromwich, 3rd ed. (Cardiff, 2006), p. 299 and the references provided and N. Wright, ‘Geoffrey of Monmouth and Bede’ in R. Barber, ed., *Arthurian Literature VI* (Woodbridge, 1986), 27–59, at pp. 44–5 and pp. 50–2. For the possibility that this is the work of “earlier Welsh pseudo-learning” than Geoffrey see D. N. Dumville, ‘Brittany and *Armes Prydein Vawr*’, *Etudes Celtiques* 20 (1983), 145–58, reprinted in and referenced from D. N. Dumville, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1993), XVI, p. 154. For the career of Cædwalla see C. Stancliffe, ‘Kings who Opted Out’, in P. Wormald, with D. Bullough and R. Collins, *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 154–76, at pp. 156–7 and pp. 170–1.

²⁸ *Brut (RBH)* 856 (pp. 8–9), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 5; 856, p. 4), Dumville. *Annales Cambriae*, 854, pp. 12–13.

²⁹ *Brut (RBH)* 886 (pp. 8–9), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 6; 886, p. 5), *BS* 886 (pp. 24–5), Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, 886, pp. 12–13.

³⁰ *Brut (RBH)* 1045 (pp. 24–5), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 18; 1045, p. 14), *BS* 1045 (pp. 60–1), *B* 1045 (p. 47, p. 173). J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (London, 1939), i. p. 204, n. 44. Lloyd calls Joseph a Bishop of Llandaff, but this is not strictly accurate. Excepting manuscript B, Joseph is referred to as being the Bishop of Teilo. Based on the charter evidence of the Book of Llandaff, it might be possible that Joseph was responsible for moving the centre of Teilo’s cult from Llandeilo in Carmarthenshire to Llandaff. See J. R. Davies, ‘The Saints of South Wales in the Welsh Church’, in A. Thacker and R. Sharpe, ed., *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 361–95 at pp. 366–9.

³¹ *Brut (RBH)* 975 (pp. 14–15), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 10; 975, p. 8), *BS* 975 (pp. 40–1).

³² *Brut (RBH)* 1065 (pp. 26–7), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 19; 1065, p. 25), *BS* 1065 (pp. 72–3). Donnchadh uí Brian is said to have died on his way to Rome.

Of the Welsh rulers, the easiest to trace is Cyngen of Powys. Two reasons have been suggested for Cyngen's journey to Rome: he was prompted to travel by Anglo-Saxon aggression or he died in Rome after being driven there by Rhodri Mawr of Gwynedd (d. 878).³³ More light is thrown on this matter by the monument known as The Pillar of Eliseg, a "fragmentary free-standing pillar-cross of the round shaft variety."³⁴ It is thought that the pillar originally had a cross on top of it, whence the name of the nearby abbey Valle Crucis derives. The monument was constructed by Cyngen in memory of victories over the English secured by his great-grandfather Eliseg and to assert the rights of Cyngen's dynasty to rule in Powys.³⁵ On the basis that the Pillar is "an intensely self-conscious monument" whose main purpose is to "justify the right of Cyngen and the Gwrtheyrning to rule over Powys", Jones argues that dynastic insecurity forced Cyngen to leave Powys for Rome; he rejects outright the notion of Mercian aggression as a reason in itself for Cyngen's departure, noting that Mercia was in as perilous a position as Powys by 853.³⁶ That Rome was considered an appropriate destination for the exiled Cyngen indicates its importance to Welsh princes.

If Cyngen's journey to Rome was caused by pressure from Rhodri Mawr, we must consider this entry alongside the external entries. Both Dyfnwal's journey to Rome and that of Donnchadh uí Brian were to a certain extent caused by dynastic instability. In the case of Dyfnwal it might well have been the death of Edgar (d. 975) in England which allowed him to transfer the kingship of Strathclyde to his son and take the opportunity to journey to Rome.³⁷ Donnchadh uí Brian on the other hand was defeated by his nephew in a struggle for

³³ *HoW*, i. pp. 324–5.

³⁴ O. W. Jones, 'Hereditas Pouoisi: The Pillar of Eliseg and the History of Early Powys', *WHR* 24.4 (2008–09), 41–80, at p. 41.

³⁵ Jones, 'Hereditas', p. 42 and see also N. Edwards, 'Rethinking the Pillar of Eliseg', *Antiquaries Journal* 89 (2009), 143–78, P. Murieta-Flores and H. Williams, 'Placing the Pillar of Eliseg: Movement, Visibility and Memory in the Early Medieval Landscape', *Medieval Archaeology* 61:1 (2017), 69–103 and *WB*, pp. 414–19.

³⁶ Jones, 'Hereditas', p. 78.

³⁷ A. Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba 789–1070*, The New Edinburgh History of Scotland 2 (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 208.

the kingship of Munster.³⁸ Given this connection between these three entries, we may expand our consideration of the unknown Hywel's journey to Rome. One might identify him with Hywel ap Rhys of Glywysing whom Asser, in his *Life of King Alfred*, mentioned as being oppressed by Ealdorman Æthelred of Mercia.³⁹ This Hywel ap Rhys sought Alfred's protection. Under such circumstances, it is understandable why Hywel should leave his polity and travel to Rome as an exile.

The exception to this pattern of recording only deaths in Rome is Hywel ap Cadell of Deheubarth (d. 950), also known as Hywel Dda (Hywel the Good).⁴⁰ Although Hywel survived, no chronicle gives details beyond noting that Hywel visited Rome in 928.⁴¹ The only detail of Hywel's journey that can be gleaned is that he began it after he had witnessing a charter of King Æthelstan (924–39) as one of the Welsh *sub-reguli* at the royal assembly in Exeter in April 928.⁴² Lloyd portrayed Hywel as something of an anglophile, arguing that he sought to model himself on Alfred the Great of Wessex (871–899).⁴³ Kirby challenged this idea, drawing attention to the history of conflict between Hywel's family and the West Saxon dynasty and arguing that there is no "need" to view Hywel's pilgrimage as a deliberate

³⁸ S. Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 1997), p. 39.

³⁹ S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, trans., *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and other Contemporary Sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983), 80 (p.96) and *WB*, pp. 489–90.

⁴⁰ *Brut* (*RBH*) 929 (pp. 12–13), *Brut* (*Pen.* 20) (p. 8; 929, p. 6), *BS* 929 (pp. 30–1), Dumville, *Annales Cambriae*, 928, pp. 16–17. Hywel's pilgrimage is also recorded in *O Oes Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau*. It is used to denote the time between the death of Anarawd and the pilgrimage, and then as the starting point to note the number of years until Hywel's own death (both figures are at odds with other sources). See *O Oes Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau*, l.19–20 (Jones, *Historical Writing*, p. 410 and p. 417).

⁴¹ *HoW*, i. pp. 334–5.

⁴² For this charter (S 400) and its remarkable draftsman, known to scholars as 'Æthelstan A', see H. Loyn, 'Wales and England in the tenth century: The context of the Athelstan Charters', *WHR* 10 (1980–1), 283–301, p. 292, S. Keynes, 'The Henry Loyn Memorial Lecture for 2008: Welsh Kings at Anglo-Saxon Royal Assemblies (928–55)', in L. L. Gathagan and W. North, eds., *The Haskins Society Journal* 26 (2014) (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 69–122, pp. 85–9 and p. 105 and K. Halloran, 'Welsh Kings at the English Court, 928–956', *WHR* 25 (2010–11), 297–313, pp. 299–303. The presence of Hywel and other Welsh rulers at this assembly and subsequent assemblies at Lifton in November 931 and at Exeter in November 932 is explained by Roach as part of Æthelstan's policy to secure control of the region. See L. Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871–978: Assemblies and the State in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 60–3 and see also Woolf, *Pictland*, p. 158. For the significance of the style *sub-regulus* in the context of Æthelstan's reign, see *WB*, pp. 517–18.

⁴³ *HoW*, i. pp. 335–9.

imitation of Alfred's journey to Rome.⁴⁴ Loyn argued for the importance of what Hywel and other Welsh rulers might have gained from regularly visiting the Anglo-Saxon court and highlighted the co-operation between Welsh rulers and the Anglo-Saxons on mutual defence from Scandinavian raids as a possible precedent for defending Hywel's lands during his absence on pilgrimage.⁴⁵ Hywel's visit to Rome took on greater significance in the thirteenth century, when he had become associated with a revision of Welsh laws.⁴⁶ Compilers of the Welsh lawbooks used Hywel's recorded journey, suggesting in prologues to the law codes that he had taken a copy of his laws with him to gain papal approval. This seems unlikely, as the prologues are better evidence for the importance of papal approval in the thirteenth century than for events of the tenth.

Brenhinedd y Saesson mentions three further events unattested in the other Brut traditions: the journey of Æthelwulf of Wessex to, and the "consecrating" of his son Alfred in, Rome,⁴⁷ gaining papal approval for Edgar's expulsion of secular clerks from the Old Minster from John XIII (965–972),⁴⁸ and the journeys of Cnut to Rome.⁴⁹ We may add to these three entries a notice of the presence of a legate and two cardinals in Winchester in 1072.⁵⁰ The

⁴⁴ D. P. Kirby, 'Hywel Dda: Anglophil?', *WHR* 8 (1976–77), 1–13 at pp. 1–4 and p. 6.

⁴⁵ Loyn, 'Wales', pp. 298–301.

⁴⁶ This aspect of Hywel's pilgrimage is discussed in Chapter 4, pp. 135–7.

⁴⁷ *BS* 837 (pp. 16–19). Both journeys made by Alfred to Rome are described in one entry, which also suggests that Æthelwulf decimated lands belonging to him after his return from Rome. For the journeys made to Rome by Alfred and Æthelwulf, and for Æthelwulf's preparations see R. Abels, *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1998), pp. 57–75.

⁴⁸ *BS* 961 (pp. 36–7). On Edgar's dealings with the papacy see F. Tinti, 'England and the Papacy in the Tenth Century', in D. Rollason, C. Leyser, H. Williams, eds., *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947)*, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 37 (Leiden, 2010), pp. 163–84, at pp. 173–7. Tinti discusses the problem of dating a permission granted to Edgar to expel the secular clerks from the Old Minster. The entry in *Brenhinedd y Saesson* suggests that Edgar gained papal approval after the monks' expulsion.

⁴⁹ *BS* 1032 and 1035 (pp. 56–7). See M. K. Lawson *Cnut: The Danes in England in the early Eleventh Century* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 102–4 and p. 159.

⁵⁰ *BS* 1072 (pp. 78–9).

entry gives some information on the deposition of Archbishop Stigand (d. 1072).⁵¹ These notices are testimony to the wide interest of *Brenhinedd y Saesson*'s sources.

In this context, one should also discuss a legatine report by George, Bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, Bishop of Todi.⁵² In 786, they were sent by Pope Hadrian I (772–795) in response to the controversy caused by Offa of Mercia (d. 796) when he tried to raise the see of Lichfield to metropolitan status following his failed attempts to conquer the kingdom of Kent, and the hostility of Jænberht, Archbishop of Canterbury (765–792).⁵³ Offa wanted his son Ecgrith anointed as his successor and Jænberht refused his request. Jænberht provided the impetus for the papal legation by spreading rumours that Offa and Charlemagne (768–814) were plotting to overthrow Hadrian.⁵⁴ The legates attended Church councils and visited different parts of Britain. George visited Northumbria, whilst Theophylact visited Mercia and, perhaps, Wales.⁵⁵ Sadly, no details of Theophylact's possible visit to Wales survive, but his visit demonstrates the Roman Church's occasional interest in the extremities of its provinces.

The later entries in the Brut are much fuller and more frequent. By far the most common are records of one Pope's death and the name of their successor. Between the Welsh Latin annals

⁵¹ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1971), pp. 659–60.

⁵² The legates' report is printed in E. Duemmler, ed., *Monumenta Germanica Historiae Epistolae Karolini Aevi II*, (Berlin, 1895), *Alcuni Epistolae*, 3 (pp. 19–29). An extract from the report is translated in D. Whitelock, ed., *English Historical Documents Volume I: c. 500–1042* (London, 1955), 191. For the legation, see Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 215, C. R. E. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c.650–c.850* (Leicester, 1995), pp. 153–8 and K. R. Rennie, *The Foundations of Medieval Papal Legation* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 141–3.

⁵³ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 215–219.

⁵⁴ See the entry on Jænberht in M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, and D. Scragg, ed., *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2001), p. 257. See also D. P. Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings* (London, 1991), pp. 171–2 and pp. 173–4 and Cubitt, *Councils*, p. 153, n. 2.

⁵⁵ Theophylact is described as visiting *Britannie partes* (Duemmler, *Alcuni Epistolae*, 3 (p. 20)). Whitelock's identification of this as Wales found in *EHD I*, p. 770.

and the *Brutiau*, there are eleven such notices.⁵⁶ Clearly not all papal deaths and successions are recorded, nor are all these deaths and successions recorded in every chronicle. The two entries which appear most frequently, both recorded in five chronicles, are the death of Innocent III (1198–1216) and his succession by Honorius III (1216–1227)⁵⁷ and the election of Clement IV (1265–68).⁵⁸ The former entries reflect the importance assigned to the pontificate of Innocent III and the Church council he had called. The latter are the most interesting in the Latin annals as they also give Clement’s name before his election (Guy le Gros), perhaps reflecting knowledge of his time as legate in England. We can treat two other entries with this group: the death notice for Hubert Walter of Canterbury⁵⁹ and a notice of Stephen Langton’s translation of the relics of Thomas Becket.⁶⁰ The connection of both men to the papacy is explicit in these entries, with Hubert Walter’s role as a legate and the fact that Langton was a cardinal noted. These entries reflect a growing knowledge of the papacy amongst Welsh chroniclers.

For the first time, we also see notification in the chronicles of major events in the history of the Church. Several Church councils are recorded.⁶¹ These are the Third Lateran Council,⁶²

⁵⁶ Aside from those mentioned below, the Popes involved are Alexander III (1159–81), Lucius III (1181–85), Urban III (1185–87), Gregory IX (1227–41), Innocent IV (1243–54), Alexander IV (1254–61) and Gregory X (1271–76).

⁵⁷ *Brut* (RBH) 1216 (pp. 208–9), *Brut* (Pen. 20) (p. 172; 1216, p. 95), *BS* 1216 (pp. 216–17), *C* 1216 (p. 46; p. 222), and *E* 1215, (p. 13; p.240).

⁵⁸ *Brut* (RBH) 1265 (pp. 256–7), *Brut* (Pen. 20) (p. 216; 1265, p. 114), *BS* 1265 (pp. 246–7), *D* 1264 (p. 9) and *E* 1264 (p. 23; p. 245).

⁵⁹ *Brut* (RBH) 1205 (pp. 186–7), *BS* 1205 (pp. 200–1), *C* 1205 (p. 44; p. 220). The influence of Gerald of Wales is evident on the latter chronicle. It describes Hubert Walter as diligent and clever, but as having very little learning.

⁶⁰ *Brut* (RBH) 1220 (pp. 218–20), *Brut* (Pen. 20) (p. 181; 1220, p. 97). See also Chapter 2, p. 59 n. 48.

⁶¹ On these councils, see D. Summerlin, ‘Papal Councils in the High Middle Ages’, in A. A. Larson and K. Sisson, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 70 (Leiden, 2016), pp. 174–96.

⁶² *D*, 1173 (p. 3) and R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford, 2000), p. 194.

the Fourth Lateran Council,⁶³ the First Council of Lyon⁶⁴ and the Second Council of Lyon.⁶⁵ Amongst these accounts, chronicle C of the Welsh Latin annals is the most informative and shows a particular interest in tithes. A legatine council described as being held in London in 1175 is mentioned by the *Brutiau*,⁶⁶ as is a synod led by the legate John of Ferentino.⁶⁷ The former entries give colourful descriptions of the conflict between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and though the legate mentioned in them is unnamed, he is to be identified as the Archbishop of Canterbury Richard of Dover (1173–84). The entries on the councils demonstrate interest in the wider Church which might also explain an entry in chronicle C of the Welsh Latin annals, which discusses the ending of schism in the Church.⁶⁸ As a result of the Peace of Venice of July 1177 between Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa, the Emperor withdrew his support for the Antipope Callixtus III. The entry must refer to the reconciliation between Alexander and Callixtus at Tusculum in August 1178.⁶⁹ We may add to this category another entry from C which makes a cryptic reference to the See of St. Peter escaping from captivity in 1228.⁷⁰ This might well refer to the conflict between Gregory IX (1227–41) and the Emperor Frederick II, and perhaps the peace agreed between

⁶³ *Brut (RBH)* 1215 (pp. 204–5), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (pp. 167–8; 1215, p. 91), *BS* 1215 (pp. 212–13), *B* 1215 (p. 72; pp. 188–9), *C* 1216 (p. 46; p. 222), *D* 1214 (p. 6), *E* 1214, (p. 12; p. 238). *B* does not mention the summoning of the Church council, but mentions bishops travelling from all over Europe to Rome. From the Welsh bishops, Geoffrey of St Davids is named amongst the participants. For Welsh participation see *AoC*, p. 194 and p. 207 and F. G. Cowley, ‘The Church in Medieval Glamorgan’, in T. B. Pugh, G. Williams and M. F. Williams, eds., *Glamorgan County History Vol. 3: The Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 1971), pp. 87–166, at p. 119.

⁶⁴ *D* 1244 (p. 7).

⁶⁵ *Brut (RBH)* 1274 (pp. 260–1), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 220; 1274, p. 116), *C* 1274 (p. 54; p. 227).

⁶⁶ *Brut (RBH)* 1176 (pp. 166–7), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (pp. 128–9; 1176, pp. 71–2). On the council’s authority and its activities see Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy: From the Conquest to the Reign of John* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 101–3 and pp. 218–9.

⁶⁷ *Brut (RBH)* 1206 (pp. 186–7), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 150; 1206, p. 83), *BS* 1206 (pp. 200–1). On this legate see C. R. Cheney, ‘Cardinal John of Ferentino, papal legate in England in 1206’, *EHR* 76 (1961), 654–660.

⁶⁸ *C* 1177 (p. 40; p. 218).

⁶⁹ The Victor mentioned in the entry must be the Anti-Pope Victor IV who was elected in opposition to Alexander in 1159. Victor had died in 1164. See W. Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (London, 2003), pp. 189–97 and the entries for Victor IV and Callistus III in J. N. D. Kelly, and M. J. Walsh, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2010), on pp. 178–9 and p. 180 respectively.

⁷⁰ *C* 1228 (p. 49; p. 224).

the two parties at Ceprano in 1230.⁷¹ These are further instances of Welsh chroniclers becoming more aware of events in the wider Church.

The deeds of several papal legates are recorded.⁷² We see the arrival of Guala and his crowning of Henry III (1216–1272).⁷³ Attention is drawn to the arrival and departure of Otto, who is almost always linked to the Emperor Frederick's excommunication.⁷⁴ Noted too is Ottobuono's work regarding gaining Clement IV's approval for the Treaty of Montgomery.⁷⁵

The papacy's influence is seen in the case of Thomas Becket⁷⁶ and in events connected to the interdict placed on England by Innocent III.⁷⁷ Chronicle Latin C is again the most informed manuscript, with far more detail about the initial controversy and it makes an explicit link between Innocent III and the French invasion in the entry for 1213. Of particular interest is the record of Innocent releasing Llywelyn ap Iorwerth of Gwynedd, Gwenwynwyn ab Owain

⁷¹ Ullmann, *Short History*, p. 230.

⁷² Though, of course, not by any means all their deeds. We know for instance that John of Crema visited Llandaff in 1125 and that Nicholas of Tusculum visited Llandaff in 1214. See Davies, *Book*, pp. 39–40 and Cowley, 'Church', p. 125.

⁷³ *Brut (RBH)* 1216 (pp. 210–11), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (pp. 172–3; 1216, p. 93), *C* 1216 (p. 47; p. 223). For the life and career of Guala see N. Vincent, ed., *The Letters and Charters of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri*, Canterbury and York Society vol. LXXXIII (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. xxxii–xlv. For an overview of his legation see F. A. Cazel Jr., 'The Legates Guala and Pandulf', in P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd, eds., *Thirteenth Century England II* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 15–21, at pp. 16–19. The powers granted to Guala during his legation are discussed in A. Davies, 'The Appointment of Cardinal-deacon Otto as Legate in Britain (1237)', in B. Weiler, J. Burton, P. Schofield and K. Stöber, eds., *Thirteenth Century England XI* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 147–59, at pp. 154–5.

⁷⁴ *Brut (RBH)* 1237 (pp. 234–5), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (pp. 196–7; 1237, p. 104), *BS* 1237 (pp. 232–3), *C* 1237 (p. 50; p. 224), *E* 1237 (p. 17; p. 242); *Brut (RBH)* 1241 (pp. 236–7), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 198; 1241, p. 105), *B* 1241 (pp. 77–8; p. 192), *E* 1241 (p. 18; p. 243). D indicates some discord in Oxford between the scholars and the party of Otto. *D* 1237 (p. 7). For Otto's legation, see D. M. Williamson, 'Some Aspects of the Legation of Cardinal Otto in England, 1237–1241', *EHR*, 44 (1949), 145–70 and Davies, 'Appointment', pp. 147–8 and pp. 153–4.

⁷⁵ *Brut (RBH)* 1267 (pp. 256–7), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 218; 1267, p. 115), *BS* 1267 (pp. 246–9). B does not mention the Treaty of Montgomery, but discusses Ottobuono's activities in England. *B* 1267 and 1269 (p. 87; p. 200). For Ottobuono's life and legation see B. M. Bolton, 'Ottobuono (c.1205–1276)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50348>, accessed 24 Nov 2014] and J. B. Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd: Prince of Wales* (Cardiff, 2014), pp. 173–4. On the Treaty of Montgomery see below, p. 125, n. 185.

⁷⁶ *B* 1167 (p. 63; p. 182). This entry records the appeals of the bishops and magnates against Becket; *Brut (RBH)* 1171 (pp. 150–1), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 116; 1171, p. 66), *BS* 1171 (pp. 172–3). All these entries note Alexander III summoning Henry II to Rome, but *Brenhinedd y Saesson* adds that Henry feared excommunication.

⁷⁷ *C* 1205, 1206, 1207 (p. 44; pp. 220–1); *Brut (RBH)* 1208 (pp. 186–7), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (pp. 150–1; 1208, p. 83), *C* 1208 (p. 45; p. 221), *E* 1207 (p. 7; p. 235); *Brut (Pen. 20)* (pp. 161–2; 1213, p. 88), *BS* 1213 (pp. 208–9), *C* 1213 (p. 46; p. 222), *E* 1213 (p. 11; p. 238). See Chapter 1, p. 11, n. 18.

of Powys and Maelgwn ap Rhys of Deheubarth from fealty to King John.⁷⁸ This action is not recorded in the Pope's register.⁷⁹ The release from fealty allowed Llywelyn to negotiate a treaty of perpetual alliance with Philip Augustus of France (1180–1223) in July or August of 1212.⁸⁰ Treharne makes the intriguing suggestion that the alliance may have been formed at the instigation of Innocent, to whom Treharne, following Lloyd, credits an “accurate understanding of the position in Wales.”⁸¹ This perhaps overstates the case for Innocent's knowledge of Wales as he had to reissue a letter threatening interdict to include Wales in November 1207.⁸² His suggestion that Llywelyn called off the alliance following John's submission to the papacy must be correct, and perhaps demonstrates Llywelyn's recognition of Innocent III's power. Collectively, these deeds create the impression of a powerful institution, an impression further confirmed by an entry which records Giles de Braose, Bishop of Hereford (1200–15) being reconciled to King John “from fear of the Pope.”⁸³ The papacy's power is demonstrated again.

We have far fewer notifications of journeys to Rome. These are the journey of the Lord Rhys's brother Cadell to Rome,⁸⁴ the return of Thomas Wallensis (Bishop of St Davids, 1248–55) from Rome in 1253⁸⁵ and the return of Amaury de Montfort to Rome in 1282.⁸⁶

⁷⁸ *Brut* (RBH) 1212 (pp. 194–5), *Brut* (Pen. 20) (pp. 158–9; 1212, p. 87), *BS* 1212 (pp. 206–7), *E* 1211 (p. 10; p. 237).

⁷⁹ Not all letters were recorded in the papal registers, and the register of Innocent's letters for this year (*Registra Vaticana* 8) only survives in a fourteenth-century copy. See Chapter 2, pp. 54–5.

⁸⁰ Edited in H. Pryce and C. Insley, eds., *The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1120–1283* (Cardiff, 2005), 235 and translated in H. Rothwell, ed., *English Historical Documents Volume III: c. 1189–1327* (London, 1975), 16 (pp. 306–7).

⁸¹ R. F. Treharne, ‘The Franco-Welsh Treaty of Alliance in 1212’, *BBCS* 18 (1958–60), 60–75, especially pp. 65–6 and pp. 71–2 and *HoW*, pp. 637–8

⁸² Chapter 2, p. 57, n. 40.

⁸³ *Brut* (RBH) 1215 (pp. 204–5), *BS* 1215 (pp. 212–13).

⁸⁴ *B* 1156 (p. 60; p. 180), *C* 1156 (p. 37; p. 216). All versions of *Brut y Tywysogyon* record that Cadell departed on pilgrimage and gave up his worldly goods and power to his brothers before departing but do not give his destination. *Brut* (RBH) 1153 (pp. 132–3), *Brut* (Pen. 20) (p. 101; 1153, p. 58), *BS* 1153 (pp. 156–7).

⁸⁵ *Brut* (RBH) 1253 (pp. 244–5), *Brut* (Pen. 20) (p. 206; 1253, p. 109), *BS* 1253 (pp. 238–9). On Bishop Thomas see Chapter 2, p. 66, n. 92.

⁸⁶ *Brut* (RBH) 1275 (pp. 264–5), *Brut* (Pen. 20) (p. 223; 1275, pp. 117–8), *BS* 1275 (pp. 252–3). Although this information is contained in the entry for 1275, Amaury's release was at a later date. The description of his

The first two appear to have been pilgrimages, whereas Amaury de Montfort, a papal chaplain was returning to Rome after being held prisoner by Edward I (1272–1307). These entries are comparable to entries in Irish chronicles recording journeys to Rome. Like their Welsh counterparts, early notices of travel to Rome in Irish chronicles are more frequent and reduce in number from the twelfth century. Ó Corráin argues that journeys to Rome became so common as to be unremarkable.⁸⁷ The same may be said of the Welsh chronicles and these journeys are part of the process which Davies described as “formal and regular links with Rome” becoming the “norm”.⁸⁸

Like the journeys to Rome discussed previously, the examples cited here involve high-status individuals. Pilgrimage to Rome however was, as Pryce observed, not the preserve of the “secular (and ecclesiastical) elite.”⁸⁹ This is a point reinforced by Davies and Olson, who emphasise that Welsh pilgrims came from all social classes.⁹⁰ Olson speculates that Rome proved particularly popular with Welsh pilgrims because of the large number of relics available for veneration.⁹¹ St Davids, which possessed the relics of St. Caradog and St. Justinian, was the most popular pilgrimage destination in Wales.⁹² Relics also played a prominent part in swearing oaths in Welsh law, and continued to do so even as the use of

release comes at the end of a list of events which includes the wedding of Llywelyn and Eleanor de Montfort in Worcester and the birth of their daughter Gwenllian. None of these events took place in 1275 and the list clearly portrays the passage of time. On Amaury’s release, see Chapter 2, pp. 89–90.

⁸⁷ D. Ó Corráin, *The Irish Church, its Reform and the English Invasion*, Trinity Medieval Ireland Series 2 (Dublin, 2017), pp. 33–4.

⁸⁸ *AoC*, p. 191.

⁸⁹ H. Pryce, ‘The Christianization of Society’, in W. Davies, ed., *From the Viking to the Normans*, Short Oxford History of the British Isles (Oxford, 2003), pp. 139–167 at p. 166. Pryce was referring to pilgrims throughout the entire British Isles in his article, and not exclusively to Welshmen.

⁹⁰ *AoC*, p. 206. K. K. Olson, “‘Ar ffordd Pedr a Phawl’: Welsh Pilgrimage and Travel to Rome, c.1200–c.1530”, *WHR* 24.2 (2008–09), 1–40, at pp. 1–2 and p. 36.

⁹¹ Olson, “‘Ar ffordd Pedr a Phawl’”, pp. 6–7. On the accumulation of relics in early medieval Rome see J. M. H. Smith, ‘Care of Relics in Early Medieval Rome’, in V. L. Garver and O. M. Phelan, eds., *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World: Studies in Honour of Thomas F. X. Noble* (Aldershot, 2014), pp. 179–204.

⁹² K. Hurlock, ‘Pilgrimage’, in J. Burton and K. Stöber, eds., *Monastic Wales: New Approaches* (Cardiff, 2013), pp. 119–31, at pp. 119–21.

Gospel books for swearing oaths became more commonplace elsewhere.⁹³ Welsh law also allowed that if a person should carry a relic on their person, that relic could act as sanctuary for that individual.⁹⁴ It seems likely that the relics mentioned by the law texts were secondary relics. There are plentiful references to these in the work of Gerald of Wales, in hagiography and in poetry.⁹⁵ There are fewer references to corporal relics, perhaps because of reluctance to dismember a saint's body. A saint's burial place was considered particularly efficacious for those seeking cures.⁹⁶ If Olson is correct, it was Rome as the burial place of saints that particularly attracted Welsh pilgrims.

Rome was not the only pilgrimage destination; there were plenty of sites in Wales and people often travelled to other external destinations including Canterbury, Walsingham, Santiago de Compostela and Jerusalem.⁹⁷ The chronicles provide a notable example of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem by Morgan ap Cadwgan of Powys who travelled there in 1128 to atone for the murder of his brother Maredudd.⁹⁸ In addition to curiosity and politics we may add penance to our list of the attractions of pilgrimage.⁹⁹

⁹³ H. Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 41–4 and L. M. Garland, *Aspects of Welsh Saints' Cults and Pilgrimage c. 1066–1530* (King's College, London, PhD thesis, 2005), pp. 214–16. Swearing on a Gospel book is only mentioned in Welsh law in the context of settling boundary disputes and even their power appears to be derived from their status as relics rather than the sanctity of the texts. See *NL*, p. 209. See also Chapter 4, pp. 138–9.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 201–2.

⁹⁵ J. M. H. Smith, 'Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850–1250', *Speculum* 65 (1990), 309–343, at pp. 338–9, *NL*, p. 43 and Garland, *Aspects*, pp. 212–13 and the references found here.

⁹⁶ Smith, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 339–41.

⁹⁷ *AoC*, p. 206 and A. D. Carr, 'Inside the Tent Looking Out: The Medieval Welsh World-View' in R. R. Davies and G. H. Jenkins, eds., *From Medieval to Modern Wales: Historical Essays in Honour of Kenneth O. Morgan and Ralph A. Griffiths* (Cardiff, 2004), 30–44, at pp. 41–2. Keith Williams-Jones emphasises the importance of the last two (and Rome), as opposed to Canterbury, as centres of popular pilgrimage for Welshmen. See K. Williams-Jones, 'Thomas Becket and Wales', *WHR* 5 (1970–71), 350–65 at p. 353.

⁹⁸ *Brut (RBH)* 1128 (pp. 110–11), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 84; 1128, p. 50), *BS* 1128 (pp. 142–3, *B* 1128 (p. 56; p. 178), and *C* 1128 (p. 34; p. 214). See also *AoC*, p. 72.

⁹⁹ For further information about penitential pilgrimage and the Welsh, see *NL*, pp. 68–9.

The papacy is also seen participating directly in Welsh affairs. This includes the disputed election of St Davids,¹⁰⁰ granting permission for Cadwgan of Llanddyfai (Bishop of Bangor, 1215–36) to retire,¹⁰¹ the commendation for the Treaty of Montgomery¹⁰² and appeals for the release of Eleanor de Montfort.¹⁰³ We also have papal will triumphing over royal desire in the appointment of Richard Carew (1256–80) to the bishopric of St Davids in the 1250s.¹⁰⁴

Collectively, the chronicles show an interest in the papacy's affairs. They grow from sparsely recording pilgrimages in the early period to providing fuller annals by the thirteenth century. They demonstrate a greater interest in the papal matters from the second half of the twelfth century by noting the deaths and elections of Popes, the activities of papal legates and events of importance for the wider Church such as Church councils. This of course reflects the papacy's own expansion but is also indicative of the fact that these chronicles were now being written in Cistercian monasteries. The chroniclers, due to the network of Cistercian houses, had far easier access to information from all over Europe than had been the case when historical writing began in Wales. Their work demonstrates the papacy's direct influence on Welsh affairs.

¹⁰⁰ *C* 1203 (p. 43; p. 220). *C* is the only chronicle which refers to the controversial election, and links it to the Curia.

¹⁰¹ *Brut (RBH)* 1236 (pp. 234–5), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 196; 1236, p. 104), *BS* 1236 (pp. 230–1). This is confirmed by a letter sent by Gregory to the chapter of Bangor. On Cadwgan and the letter, see Chapter 2, p. 78, n. 167.

¹⁰² See above, p. 108, n. 75, and below, p. 125, n. 185.

¹⁰³ *Brut (RBH)* 1275 (pp. 262–3), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 222; 1275, p. 117), *BS* 1275 (pp. 252–3). For this entry, see above, p. 109, n. 86.

¹⁰⁴ *Brut (RBH)* 1256 (pp. 248–9), *Brut (Pen. 20)* (p. 209; 1256, p. 110), *BS* 1256 (pp. 242–3) and *E* 1256 (p. 21; p. 226). See *AoC*, p. 192. For more on Bishop Richard see Chapter 2, p. 69, n. 109.

Rome and the papacy in Charters¹⁰⁵

Only two surviving charters originating in Wales refer to the papacy but considered together they offer insight into Welsh rulers' views of the papacy and its power. The papacy is invoked in charters for two Cistercian foundations, by Rhys ap Gruffudd (d. 1197) in an 1184 charter for Strata Florida and by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (d. 1240) in an 1209 charter for Cymer Abbey.¹⁰⁶ In both cases, Rhys and Llywelyn, with their successors, confirm their own grants of land and pledge to protect the privileges granted to both foundations by the papacy.

Rhys ap Gruffudd's charter is particularly interesting as it refers to lands that have been granted to Strata Florida by Popes.¹⁰⁷ This presumably refers to a papal bull issued to Strata Florida, a copy of which is in the formulary book of Richard de Bury, a diplomat, royal official, papal chaplain and Bishop of Durham (1333–45).¹⁰⁸ De Bury used his prominent public position to collect manuscripts, compiling a collection of around 1,500 letters now known as the *Liber Epistolaris* in around 1324.¹⁰⁹ The bull is undated but, as Davies has

¹⁰⁵ For an overview of Welsh charters see C. Insley, 'From *rex Wallie* to *princeps Wallie*: charters and state formation in thirteenth-century Wales' in J. R. Madicott and D. M. Palliser, eds., *The Medieval State: Essays presented to James Campbell* (London, 2000), pp. 179–96.

¹⁰⁶ AWR, 28. For Strata Florida see J. Burton, and K. Stöber, *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 2015), pp. 187–93 and D. H. Williams, 'The Cistercians in West Wales: 2. Ceredigion', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 159 (2010), 241–286 at pp. 241–66; AWR, 229 and K. Williams-Jones, 'Llywelyn's Charter to Cymer Abbey in 1209', *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* III.1 (1957), 45–78. For Cymer see AP, pp. 84–6, D. H. Williams, 'The Cistercians in West Wales I. Cymer Abbey', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 130 (1981) 36–58 and J. B. Smith, 'Cymer Abbey and the Welsh Princes', *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* XIII.2 (1999), 101–118 at pp. 101–5.

¹⁰⁷ The charter's key clause is: *Tres etiam filii mei scilicet Griffinus, Resus et Meredud eandem donationem eodem tempore et loco in manu abbatis de Stratflur optulerunt, statuantes firmiter coram multis de exercitu in ecclesia Sancte Brigide apud Randir mecum ut quascumque possessiones quecumque bona idem monasterium in presentiarum possidet et custodit sive concessione pontificum, largitione principum, oblatione fidelium vel aliis iustis modis Deo propitio adepti fuerit, firma monachis illius et eorum successoribus ab omni seculari et ecclesiastica consuetudine et debito immunita et illibata permaneant.* AWR, 28 (p. 173).

¹⁰⁸ De Bury is also known as the author of a tract on the love of books titled "Philobiblon". W. J. Courtenay, 'Bury, Richard (1287–1345)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4153, accessed 29 Oct 2014].

¹⁰⁹ J. C. Davies, 'A papal bull of privileges to the Abbey of Ystrad Fflur', *NLWJ* 4 (1943–4), 197–203 at pp. 197–8. and N. Denholm-Young, 'Richard de Bury (1287–1345)', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, 20 (1937), 135–168, at pp. 140–4. Denholm-Young argued that as many of the collection's letters were written in the period 1318–22, with none dating from after 1324, it must have been compiled around this time. The entire collection of letters may be found in N. Denholm-Young, ed., *The Liber Epistolaris of Richard de Bury* (Oxford for the Roxburghe Club, 1950).

shown, it must be from the pontificate of Alexander III.¹¹⁰ The privileges outlined in the bull are standard guarantees by the papacy, and as such contribute to the image of the papacy as a source of protection.¹¹¹ Rhys ap Gruffudd's charter, as Pryce has shown, also deploys strikingly similar phrases to Alexander's bull.¹¹² Although, as Pryce concedes, similar phrases are employed elsewhere in ecclesiastical documents, this is surely an example of a papal document being mined as a source of authoritative Latin phrases.¹¹³ This habit was not confined to the court of Rhys ap Gruffudd. In a charter for the Abbey of Aberconwy purportedly by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, but rejected as inauthentic by Pryce and Insley, there are clear examples of similarity between Alexander III's bull for Strata Florida and a bull of Urban III for Margam Abbey.¹¹⁴

Pryce suggests that a papal bull may have influenced the drafter of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's charter too, although the Cymer Abbey charter "exhibits no precise verbal parallels" with known papal bulls.¹¹⁵ Llywelyn, like Rhys ap Gruffudd before him, pledges to protect the papal privileges granted to Cymer, invoking the papacy's power and specifically naming Peter and Paul.¹¹⁶ The original privileges are unknown, but must have been granted by Innocent III, since the abbey was founded in 1198 and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's charter dates

¹¹⁰ Davies, 'A papal bull', pp. 201–2. Like virtually all papal registers prior to 1198, the register of Alexander III does not survive in the Vatican Archives. See Chapter 2, pp. 54–5.

¹¹¹ Davies's transcription of the Bull is found at 'A papal bull' at pp. 200–1 with a summary of the Bull's contents in English at p. 202. See also Williams, 'Cistercians in West Wales: 2', p. 243.

¹¹² AWR, p. 99. See also Pryce's comments in H. Pryce, 'Uses of the vernacular in the acts of Welsh rulers 1120–1283' in O. Guyotjeannin, ed., *La langue des actes: actes du XIe congrès international de diplomatique* (Troyes, jeudi 11–samedi 13 septembre 2003) (on-line publication by École nationale des chartes, Paris, 2005: <http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/CID2003/pryce>) (Accessed March 18, 2015), especially around n. 32 and the remarks by Insley in C. Insley, 'Kings, Lords, Charters and the Political Culture of Twelfth-century Wales' in C. P. Lewis, ed., *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (2007), pp. 133–53, at p. 144.

¹¹³ AWR, pp. 99–100.

¹¹⁴ AWR, 218, especially pp. 361–3 and C. Insley, 'Fact and Fiction in Thirteenth-Century Gwynedd: The Aberconwy Charters', *SC* 33 (1999), 235–50.

¹¹⁵ H. Pryce, 'The Medieval Church' in J. B. Smith and Ll. B. Smith, eds., *History of Merioneth II: The Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 254–96 at pp. 278–9.

¹¹⁶ *In omnibus quoque et ante omnia domini papae preceptis obediētes, prefatis fratribus donavimus ut summi pontificis privilegia, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate roborata, ipsique monachis sive data sive danda in omnibus vim suam obtineant et inconcussa atque inviolata permaneant.* AWR, 229 (p. 382).

from 1209.¹¹⁷ After a list of possible transgressions against the monks and against apostolic authority, Llywelyn pledges to exercise his might as a layman against offenders and to uphold any ecclesiastical sanction against them. As Smith speculated, the brothers of Cymer may have been particularly keen to include such a list either due to their own experiences at Cymer or because many of the monks had abandoned the abbey at Cwm Hir to settle at Cymer.¹¹⁸ The invocation of the apostles in the charter is significant. It is not only Llywelyn's secular authority that will be brought to bear on transgressors but the papacy's full might of the papacy, which, in seeking to emphasise the double apostolicity of its claim to primacy, had adopted an image of the two apostles on the *recto* of the papal seal as standard from the pontificate of Paschal II (1099–1118).¹¹⁹ Llywelyn's charter, by twice invoking the papacy, emphasises its protection over Cymer Abbey.

Rome and the papacy in Letters Patent, Agreements and Treaties

This section will examine the papacy's presence in agreements of any sort. It will consider letters patent, agreements and treaties.

During the war of 1276–77, several Welsh magnates in Deheubarth, including Rhys ap Maredudd (d. 1292) were compelled to submit to Edward I by Payn de Chaworth.¹²⁰ Rhys broke several agreements with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, as had his father before him.¹²¹ Unlike several of his relatives in Deheubarth, Rhys was rewarded by being allowed to keep much of his territory intact and later expanded it to become Lord of Ystrad Tywi.¹²² Rhys was

¹¹⁷ Pryce, 'Medieval Church', p. 278.

¹¹⁸ Smith, 'Cymer Abbey', p. 107.

¹¹⁹ F. Pomarici, 'Papal Imagery and Propaganda: Art, Architecture, and Liturgy', in A. A. Larson and K. Sisson, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 70 (Leiden, 2016), pp. 82–120, at p. 90.

¹²⁰ Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 418–22.

¹²¹ Smith, 'Cronica de Wallia', pp. 269–72, id., *Llywelyn*, pp. 105–8.

¹²² Smith, 'Cronica de Wallia', pp. 272–4 and *AoC*, p. 337 and pp. 339–40.

amongst the earliest supporters of Edward I during the events of 1282–83 and was richly rewarded for it in the rebellion’s aftermath though he would eventually rebel against the Crown in 1287.¹²³ Letters patent, dated to 11 April 1277, confirm an agreement between Rhys and Payn de Chaworth.¹²⁴ Rhys placed himself and his heirs under the jurisdiction of the Churches of Rome and Canterbury as well as his diocesan bishop, pledging never to rebel against the King on pain of losing his lands forever and having the Church’s full ecclesiastical might turned against him.¹²⁵ The Pope tops this list, demonstrating his exalted position. It was clearly a very solemn undertaking on Rhys’s behalf. He wanted to ensure that Edward I and his forces took his pledge of fealty seriously so that his lands were not attacked.

A similar clause of ecclesiastical sanction was included in an agreement of November 1257 between Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and Gruffudd ap Madog of Bromfield.¹²⁶ Though the manuscript gives the date as 20 November 1250, this was rejected as inaccurate by Lloyd in 1941 as it was “far too early.” This contention was developed more recently by Stephenson, who argues that the political circumstances of 1257 provide a more favourable context for the agreement.¹²⁷ Llywelyn and Gruffudd both submitted themselves to the Pope’s jurisdiction, each allowing the other to ask for a sentence of excommunication and interdict on the one who broke their alliance.¹²⁸ This reciprocity is reflected elsewhere in the agreement, with

¹²³ Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 523–4, R. A. Griffiths, ‘The Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd, 1287–8’, *WHR* 2 (1966–7), 121–43, reprinted in and referenced from R. A. Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 67–83, A. Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers in the Later Middle Ages 1282–1422*, *Warfare in History* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 17–19, and *AoC*, p.323, p. 349, p. 361 and pp. 380–1.

¹²⁴ The agreement is *AWR*, 92 and the letters patent *AWR*, 93. Letters patent are open letters, essentially public proclamations used to transact Royal business. See also Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 420–1.

¹²⁵ *AWR*, 93.

¹²⁶ *AWR*, 323.

¹²⁷ Stephenson, *Powys*, p. 123 and *AWR*, pp. 495–6. Lloyd’s work is cited by Smith who disagrees that the date is too early. See Smith, *Llywelyn*, p. 68, n. 123.

¹²⁸ *AWR*, 323, p. 495. Quite how effective this clause might have been is open to question however. See D. A. Carpenter, ‘Confederation not Domination: Welsh political culture in an age of Gwynedd imperialism’, in R. A. Griffiths and P. R. Schofield, ed., *Wales and the Welsh in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2011), pp. 20–28, at pp. 25–6.

Stephenson emphasising the “assumption of equality between the parties”.¹²⁹ Earlier in 1257, Gruffudd ap Madog had been forced to flee to England by Llywelyn’s forces.¹³⁰ He had been on the side of the Crown in the 1241 war against Llywelyn’s uncle, Dafydd ap Llywelyn (d. 1246).¹³¹ The alliance clearly held despite entreaties to Gruffudd from the Crown in 1262, in response to a rumour that Llywelyn ap Gruffudd had died and seeking, should the rumours prove accurate, to prevent Welsh magnates from pledging support for Llywelyn’s brother Dafydd ap Gruffudd..¹³² The alliance went from strength to strength as Gruffudd ap Madog was seen to act on Llywelyn ap Gruffudd’s behalf several times. He was one of the Welsh parties to an “agreement of confederacy of friendship” between the Welsh magnates and the magnates of Scotland in 1258, and represented Llywelyn in several meetings with the Crown and de Montfort’s party.¹³³ The sanctions demonstrate the solemnity and seriousness with which both parties took their agreement.

In both the letter patent and the agreement, we saw how the mere threat of ecclesiastical censure helped ensure the keeping of agreements. The papacy might also take a more immediate role in Welsh affairs, for example through papal judges-delegate. We see two examples of this in agreements between Iorwerth (Bishop of St Davids ,1215–1229) and two sons of the Lord Rhys (d. 1197), Rhys Gryg and Maelgwn ap Rhys.¹³⁴ The case of Rhys Gryg

¹²⁹ Stephenson, *Powys*, pp. 123–4.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 120 and Smith, *Llywelyn*, p. 94.

¹³¹ Stephenson, *Powys*, pp. 115–16, Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 30–1 and G. A. Williams, ‘The Succession to Gwynedd 1238–1247’, *BBCS*, 20 (1962–4), 393–413, at pp. 396–7, p. 400, p. 404 and p. 407.

¹³² Stephenson, *Powys*, p. 130 and Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 137–8.

¹³³ AWR 328 and 361, Stephenson, *Powys*, pp. 124–6 and pp. 130–1, Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 110–12, p. 122, p. 164, pp. 169–70 and p.181 and G. W. S. Barrow, ‘Wales and Scotland in the Middle Ages’, *WHR* 10 (1980–1), 302–19, at pp. 311–12.

¹³⁴ The agreements are respectively AWR, 52 and 43. See also H. Pryce, ‘The Dynasty of Deheubarth and the church of St Davids’, in J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, eds., *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 305–16 at pp. 310–11. The second agreement’s text makes no mention of the clergy of Hereford’s role as papal judges-delegate, though the hearing into both cases occurred at the same time. Both agreements may be dated to 25 March 1222 x 24 March 1223. See J. Barrow, ed., *St. David’s Episcopal Acta 1085–1280* (Cardiff, South Wales Records Society, 1998) p. 123 and Pryce, ‘Dynasty’, p. 310. For Bishop Iorwerth’s life see J. W. Evans, ‘Bishops of St Davids from Bernard to Bec’, in R. F. Walker, ed.,

concerned lands connected to Llandeilo Fawr whilst the Maelgwn case concerned land in Llanymddyfri. There is no indication of the immediate reason behind bringing the disputes before the judges-delegate, but one reason may have been that the lands had been lost or alienated by St Davids during the preceding century.¹³⁵ This is one example of the papacy at work in the Welsh polities.

Whilst the disputes between the brothers and the bishops were highly localised, arbitration also applied to cross-border politics. Thus, Dafydd ap Llywelyn and Henry III submitted themselves to the arbitration of the legate Otto, the Bishops of St Asaph, Worcester and Norwich, and leading noblemen in May 1240 to resolve a dispute concerning lands claimed by the King's barons, perhaps most notably Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn of Powys.¹³⁶ Despite being the designated heir, Dafydd was in a very weak position at the time of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's death.¹³⁷ The treaty shows him to be willing to settle for recognition of his lands in Gwynedd, rather than of the wider polity that his father had held.¹³⁸ His weakness is further shown by the agreement stating that the Welsh magnates' fealty was to be given directly to the King rather than to Dafydd.¹³⁹ The prince made these concessions to alleviate the immediate pressure on him, though they ultimately led to the dismantling of the polity his father had built.¹⁴⁰ During the autumn of 1240, Dafydd became uncooperative with the arbitration process, leading to conflict in the following spring and ending in Dafydd's acceptance of further debilitating terms at Gwerneigron in August 1241 and Westminster in

Pembrokeshire County History Volume II: Medieval Pembrokeshire (Haverfordwest, 2002), pp. 270–311, at pp. 290–2, Barrow, *St. David's*, pp. 10–11 and Pryce, 'Dynasty', pp. 308–9.

¹³⁵ Pryce, 'Dynasty', pp. 311–13 and pp. 314–15.

¹³⁶ AWR, 291. See also AoC, p. 300, Smith, *Llywelyn*, p. 185, n. 178 and Stephenson, *Powys*, p. 134. For Otto's legation, see above, p. 108, n. 74.

¹³⁷ Williams, 'Succession', pp. 395–7, Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 31–2, AoC, pp. 300–1 and H. Pryce, 'Anglo-Welsh agreements, 1201–77' in R. A. Griffiths and P. R. Schofield, ed., *Wales and the Welsh in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2011), pp. 1–19, p. 9.

¹³⁸ AWR, p. 459.

¹³⁹ Williams, 'Succession', pp. 397–8 and Smith, *Llywelyn*, p. 29.

¹⁴⁰ Williams, 'Succession', p. 398 and Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 29–30.

October 1241.¹⁴¹ The threat of ecclesiastical sanctions clearly had no effect on Dafydd when the political imperative took over.

Almost a quarter of a century earlier, Dafydd's father Llywelyn ap Iorwerth had submitted to intervention by the papal legate Guala Bicchieri, who led negotiations on the Crown's behalf.¹⁴² Unlike Dafydd, Llywelyn was in a position of strength following successful military campaigns in 1215–17.¹⁴³ Three surviving letters patent describe the agreement reached between the young Henry III and Llywelyn at Worcester in 1218. One granted Llywelyn the right to act as guardian of the lands of Gwenwynwyn ab Owain's heir.¹⁴⁴ In another, Llywelyn transferred custody of the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan to the legate and promised to ensure that all Welsh magnates would pledge fealty to Henry III and that he would pursue the King's enemies as if they were his own.¹⁴⁵ In the final letter, Llywelyn received custody of the castles until the King should come of age and promised to dispense English law to the English and Welsh law to the Welsh.¹⁴⁶ He demonstrated his commitment to the last agreement by swearing on relics in the legate's presence.¹⁴⁷ Llywelyn received

¹⁴¹ AWR, 300–5, Williams, 'Succession', p. 399, Pryce, 'Anglo-Welsh agreements', pp. 10–12 and D. A. Carpenter, 'Dafydd ap Llywelyn's submission to King Henry III in October 1241: A New Perspective', *WHR* 23.4 (2006–07), 1–12.

¹⁴² On the Crown's objective in these negotiations see R. F. Walker, 'Hubert de Burgh and Wales, 1218–1232', *EHR* 82 (1972), 465–94, pp. 469–70. For Guala see above, p. 108, n. 73.

¹⁴³ AWR, p. 242. Llywelyn had the support of the Whitland group of Cistercian houses in Wales during this time, with the Abbots of Whitland and Strata Florida as well as five priors being deposed for their roles in opposing Guala's imposition of an interdict on Welsh lands. See F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales 1066–1349*, Studies in Welsh History 1 (Cardiff, 1977), pp. 211–12, Smith, 'Cymer Abbey', p. 110 and Williams, 'Cistercians in West Wales: 2', pp. 246–7.

¹⁴⁴ AWR, 240. See also Stephenson, *Powys*, pp. 97–8.

¹⁴⁵ AWR, 241.

¹⁴⁶ AWR, 242.

¹⁴⁷ On the significance of swearing on relics in Welsh law, above, pp. 110–11 and Chapter 4, pp. 138–9.

some recognition of his position even if the negotiations were not wholly triumphant.¹⁴⁸

Guala had fulfilled his role as a peacemaker.¹⁴⁹

There was some similarity in the circumstance which led to the papacy's influence in Welsh affairs reaching its apogee during negotiations between Llywelyn ap Gruffudd of Gwynedd and Henry III in 1267. Cardinal Ottobuono de Fieschi was sent to England by Clement IV with the mission of pacifying the realm.¹⁵⁰ Clement, when still known as Guy le Gros, had been legate in England before his election and had a nuanced understanding of the situation.¹⁵¹ The new legate was clearly well briefed.

Ottobuono led the negotiations for the royal party and within a few days the Treaty of Montgomery had been agreed.¹⁵² This was the peak of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's power because the treaty, and through it both the King and the Pope, recognised him as Prince of Wales to whom, along with his heirs, the fealty of the "Welsh lords of Wales" was due, and confirmed him in his possessions.¹⁵³ In this act we again see the papacy's influence at work. Both sides appear to have trusted Ottobuono and he made a particular impression on the young Lord Edward. When he became Edward I, he felt compelled to write to Ottobuono,

¹⁴⁸ Llywelyn's actions in the following years indicate that he was not wholly satisfied with the recognition granted to him at Worcester. See *AoC*, pp. 242–3, Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 21–3 and H. Pryce, 'Negotiating Anglo-Welsh relations: Llywelyn the Great and Henry III', in B. K. U. Weiler with I. W. Rowlands, eds., *England and Europe in the reign of Henry III (1216–1272)*, (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 13–29 at pp. 16–18.

¹⁴⁹ On Guala's wider brief to make peace see Vincent, *Letters and Charters*, pp. xlix–lii.

¹⁵⁰ Ottobuono's mission is detailed in a series of several mandates contained in the registers of Clement IV. E. Jordan, ed., *Les registres de Clement IV*, Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 2nd ser. xi (Paris, 1893–1945), 40, 43–75. See also Chapter 2, pp. 88–9.

¹⁵¹ Clement IV distinguishes between the Welsh, English, Irish and Scots more regularly than any other Pope. See Chapter 2, p. 58.

¹⁵² *AWR*, 363.

¹⁵³ J. G. Edwards, *The Principality of Wales 1267–1967: A Study in Constitutional History* (Denbigh, 1969), pp. 5–7, Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 177–86 and *AoC*, pp. 314–17. Although Llywelyn's preminent position was recognised in the treaty, it is important to bear in mind that "throughout the document the legate was careful to uphold the king's superiority over Llywelyn and... there was no attempt to imply any equality of status by using the language of friendship in a way comparable to that used when twelfth-century kings of England gave homage to the kings of France for the duchy of Normandy." Pryce, 'Anglo-Welsh agreements', p. 6.

who had by then been elected Adrian V (1276), explaining his actions in the kidnapping of Eleanor de Montfort and her brother Amaury.¹⁵⁴

One consequence of the discussions at Montgomery was peace negotiations between Llywelyn and his brother Dafydd. The treaty obliged Llywelyn to make provision for Dafydd in Gwynedd.¹⁵⁵ The agreement was recorded in letters patent of 1269.¹⁵⁶ The brothers agreed, should either wish it, papal confirmation of their agreement, which Llywelyn received from Gregory X (1271–76) in 1274.¹⁵⁷ By then Dafydd had been identified as a conspirator in a plot to murder Llywelyn, with dissatisfaction at the lands granted to him under the agreement a possible motive for his actions.¹⁵⁸ In this instance, we see two aspects of the papacy's work in Wales combining. Under the influence of Ottobuono, the Treaty of Montgomery had forced the two brothers to discuss peace terms. Secondly, the clause allowing the seeking of papal approval demonstrated the respect in which the papacy's jurisdiction was held by the two brothers.

Rome and the papacy in Letters

If one common theme unites surviving letters and judgments which mention or were sent to Popes and their legates by members of the Welsh episcopacy or by Welsh magnates before the Edwardian conquest, it is assistance. In all cases, the authors either ask for assistance or are assisting someone else.

¹⁵⁴ See Chapter 2, pp. 89–90.

¹⁵⁵ Clause 11 in *AWR*, 363. See also Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 180–1 and *AoC*, p. 315.

¹⁵⁶ *AWR*, 368.

¹⁵⁷ See Chapter 2, p. 89, n. 227.

¹⁵⁸ See Chapter 2, p. 89, n. 228.

By far the most common are direct appeals to the Pope. One early appeal is mentioned in the *Vita Wulfstani* of William of Malmesbury. It is a letter from Bernard (Bishop of St Davids 1115–48) to Eugenius III (1145–53) describing the survival of Wulfstan’s shrine at Worcester after a fire.¹⁵⁹ The letter requested that Wulfstan be celebrated throughout the Church, but nothing came of it. Wulfstan was not formally canonised until 21 April 1203.¹⁶⁰ Nicholas (Bishop of Llandaff, 1148–83) sought to act to Gloucester Abbey’s advantage by writing on its behalf to Alexander III in its dispute with Gilbert de Montfichet, the hereditary forester of Essex.¹⁶¹ The bishop had been a monk of Gloucester and sought to defend his mother church against Gilbert’s claims to the incomes of the churches of Wraysbury and Langley Marsh. Roger, Bishop of Worcester (1163–79), used Nicholas’s testimony in his own letter to Alexander.¹⁶² This shows the value of Nicholas’s letter to the Gloucester party but the fact of the letter’s existence demonstrates appreciation of the papacy’s importance in appeals amongst the Welsh episcopate.¹⁶³

Bishops also asked for personal favours. Two bishops of Bangor asked the Pope’s permission to resign their see.¹⁶⁴ Bishop Richard of Bangor (1236–67) petitioned Clement IV to allow him to retire on the grounds of age and illness.¹⁶⁵ The letter must have been written after the arrival of the legate Ottobuono, whom it mentions, in England in October 1265 and before

¹⁵⁹ Barrow, *St Davids*, 8.

¹⁶⁰ For Bernard’s letter and its role in the development of Wulfstan’s cult see J. Crook, ‘The physical setting of the cult of St. Wulfstan’ in J. S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks, eds., *St Wulfstan and his World* (Aldershot, 2005) pp. 189–217, especially pp. 207–8.

¹⁶¹ D. Crouch, ed., *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140–1287* (Cardiff, 1988) 15 and J. C. Davies, ed., *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066–1272*, 2 vols. (Cardiff, 1946–8) ii, L.158 and see N. Vincent, ‘New Charters of King Stephen with Some Reflections upon the Royal Forests during the Anarchy’, *EHR*, 114 (1999), 899–928, p. 918.

¹⁶² W. W. Hart, ed., *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, 3 vols., Rolls Series 33 (London, 1863–70), DCCXV and see also EAWD ii, L.158.

¹⁶³ For another example of Welsh bishops acting in concert with English bishops see Chapter 2, p. 72, n. 133.

¹⁶⁴ Bishops had to obtain papal permission before they resigned. See C. R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, *Päpste und Papsttum* 9 (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 78–9 and K. Pennington, *Pope and Bishops* (Pennsylvania, 1984), pp. 101–14.

¹⁶⁵ A. W. Haddan, and W. Stubbs, eds., *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols., (Oxford 1869–78), i., pp. 496–7.

the election of Anian (1267–1307) as bishop in November 1267. It seems likely however that the bishop died before receiving the right to resign.¹⁶⁶ Richard's predecessor bishop, Cadwgan of Llandyfai, made the same request of Gregory IX in 1236, and retired to Abbey Dore, Herefordshire.¹⁶⁷

We also see increasing awareness of the papacy's importance amongst Welsh magnates around this time. Owain Gwynedd (d. 1170) was excommunicated for deliberately disobeying a papal directive by remaining married to his cousin Cristin, a marriage within prohibited degrees of consanguinity.¹⁶⁸ This was set against the background of a previous dispute over the appointment of a new Bishop of Bangor.¹⁶⁹ More light is thrown upon these events by the correspondence between Owain Gwynedd and Louis VII of France (1137–80), which refers to mediation by Louis VII with Alexander III on Owain Gwynedd's behalf.¹⁷⁰

Let us turn to Owain's marriage. Owain had angered both Archbishop Thomas Becket (1162–70) and Alexander III by marrying within the degrees of consanguinity prohibited by the Church. In the 1150s, Becket's predecessor, Theobald of Bec (1139–1161), complained to the papacy, Probably to Adrian IV (1154–59), about Owain's marriage.¹⁷¹ It seems unlikely that Louis VII, famous for his piety, would have intervened on Owain Gwynedd's behalf in

¹⁶⁶ H. Pryce, 'Esgobaeth Bangor yn Oes y Tywysogion' in W. P. Griffith, ed., *'Ysbryd Dealltwrus ac Enaid Anfarwol'* (Bangor, 1999), pp.37–57, p. 49.

¹⁶⁷ See above, p. 112, n. 101.

¹⁶⁸ *HoW*, ii. p. 522, *AoC*, p. 194, Williams-Jones, 'Thomas Becket', p. 357. Under Welsh law, only marriage on the father's side was considered incestuous and Cristin was related to Owain through his mother. See H. Pryce, 'Welsh Custom and Canon Law, 1150–1300' in K. Pennington, S. Chowdrow and K. H. Kendall, eds., *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, Monumenta iuris canonici., Series C, Subsidia, 11 (Vatican City, 2001), pp. 781–97, at pp. 783–4.

¹⁶⁹ EAWD ii, pp. 417–36.

¹⁷⁰ Two of which were addressed directly to Louis VII and the other to Louis VII's chancellor Hugh de Champfleury. H. Pryce, 'Owain Gwynedd and Louis VII: The Franco-Welsh diplomacy of the first Prince of Wales', *WHR* 19 (1998–99), 1–28. These letters also appear in *AWR* as 193, 194 and 196.

¹⁷¹ John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury: Volume 1: The Early Letters (1153–1161)*, ed. W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler and rev. C. N. L. Brooke, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1986), 87. See also Pryce, 'Owain Gwynedd', p. 9 and pp. 21–2.

defence of “a blatantly incestuous marriage”, so French intervention on Owain’s behalf related to the Bishopric of Bangor.¹⁷²

Following the death of Bishop Meurig in 1161, Owain Gwynedd wished to appoint his own candidate, Arthur of Bardsey to the see. This was strongly opposed by Becket.¹⁷³ By 1165, with Becket in exile, Owain wished to send Arthur to be consecrated abroad.¹⁷⁴ Becket again objected, and this time enlisted Alexander III to aid him in maintaining control of episcopal consecration in his own metropolitan see.¹⁷⁵ It is at this point that Louis VII is likely to have intervened (unsuccessfully) on Owain’s behalf. These letters demonstrate that Owain set some store on gaining papal support regarding the Bishop of Bangor, even if he was obstinate regarding marriage. As Pryce has observed, these letters also indicate “a shrewd perception of the wider political arena” on the part of Owain Gwynedd. By enlisting international support through contacting Louis VII, in an attempt to win over Alexander III, Owain demonstrated the papacy’s increasing importance in his world view.¹⁷⁶

Two more letters involve episcopal elections. One was the election for Bath and Wells in spring 1206.¹⁷⁷ In this letter, all four Welsh bishops, with the Bishops of London and Hereford, sought confirmation of Jocelin of Wells’ election by Innocent III. The other letter

¹⁷² Pryce, ‘Owain Gwynedd’, p. 9.

¹⁷³ The controversy is first mentioned in a letter of October 1163 from Becket to Alexander III. See A. J. Duggan, ed. and trans., *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, 2 vols., Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2000), 12 and Pryce, ‘Owain Gwynedd’, p. 9.

¹⁷⁴ *Correspondence*, i.57, AWR, 195, Pryce, ‘Owain Gwynedd’, p. 9 and Williams-Jones, ‘Thomas Becket and Wales’, p. 357.

¹⁷⁵ *Correspondence*, i.59–61, J. C. Robertson, and J. B. Sheppard, eds., *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 vols., Rolls Series 67 (London, 1875–85), v.CXVII, EAWD ii, p. 422., Pryce, ‘Owain Gwynedd’, pp. 9–10 and AWR, pp. 326–7.

¹⁷⁶ Pryce, ‘Owain Gwynedd’, p. 18.

¹⁷⁷ Barrow, *St Davids*, 63. A copy was sent to John of Ferentino, the papal legate and appears as Barrow, *St Davids*, 64. See also EAWD i, D.390 and D.391. For the election see N. Vincent, ‘Jocelin of Wells: the making of a bishop in the reign of King John’ in R. Dunning, ed., *Jocelin of Wells: Bishop, Builder, Courtier* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 9–33 at pp. 25–30. For the legate and the documents issued by him see above, p. 107, n. 67.

deals with electing a successor to Hubert Walter as Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁷⁸ There was a dispute between the monks of Canterbury and the province's suffragan bishops over who had the right to elect the new archbishop, and this letter represents the bishops' appeal to Innocent III. The involvement of King John (1198–1216) in the affair would eventually lead to the interdict on England.¹⁷⁹ Welsh bishops recognised the advantage of papal arbitration, as well as the importance of gaining papal approval for elections to bishoprics.

This was a lesson that Henry III had clearly learned when, some forty years later, he enlisted Dafydd ap Llywelyn to write to Gregory IX in 1241 about the election of Boniface of Savoy as Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁸⁰ Henry III hoped to attract papal support for his candidate, who was a relative of his queen, Eleanor of Provence.¹⁸¹ Dafydd wrote to Gregory IX to support Boniface of Savoy's candidacy. The letter demonstrates Dafydd's status as a client of Henry and shows the importance of papal approval for an episcopal candidate.¹⁸²

Dafydd and his father Llywelyn ap Iorwerth are known to have contacted the papacy to further their political ambitions. Their letters do not survive, though we know of their existence through the replies of Innocent III, Honorius III and Innocent IV.¹⁸³ Llywelyn ap Gruffudd also contacted the papacy, writing at least three times to Gregory X. Two of these letters are known from the Pope's replies.¹⁸⁴ The only extant letter is a complaint to Gregory X regarding the application of the Treaty of Montgomery.¹⁸⁵ Llywelyn attempts to explain to

¹⁷⁸ Barrow, *St Davids*, 62.

¹⁷⁹ Chapter 1, p. 11, n.18.

¹⁸⁰ *AWR*, 294. On Boniface see Chapter 2, p. 92, n. 245.

¹⁸¹ *AWR*, p. 463. For Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Savoy see Robert C. Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance under Henry III 1216–1245* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 180–2.

¹⁸² See above, pp. 118–19.

¹⁸³ See Chapter 2, pp. 82–5 and pp. 87–8.

¹⁸⁴ See Chapter 2, p. 89. Llywelyn also evidently wrote several letters to the papacy concerning the capture of his wife Eleanor de Montfort and her brother Amaury by Edward I. See *AWR*, 396 and Chapter 2, pp. 89–90.

¹⁸⁵ *AWR*, 390. The Treaty of Montgomery is *AWR* 363.

the Pope why he has not paid homage to Edward I at Chester in August 1275 by outlining how he believed the King had contravened the treaty.¹⁸⁶ As a younger man, Gregory had served in Ottobuono's legation to England and would therefore have been well acquainted with the subject.¹⁸⁷ The Pope's response to this letter is unknown, but he had previously encouraged Edward to adhere to the treaty.¹⁸⁸ Glanmor Williams' characterisation of Llywelyn's relationship with Gregory X as one of sympathetic benevolence seems apt.¹⁸⁹

Llywelyn ap Gruffudd was writing at a time of great political difficulty, as arguments with Bishop Anian II of St Asaph (1268–93) and Edward I became prominent,¹⁹⁰ The dispute with Anian centred on the extent of secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, particularly relating to testamentary issues and criminal jurisdiction.¹⁹¹ In turn, Edward used this case to justify the war against Llywelyn in 1276–77.¹⁹² Under the political pressure of Edward's invasion, Llywelyn was forced to issue a charter to Bishop Anian (and his namesake the Bishop of Bangor), conceding his position on many issues.¹⁹³ Before this settlement, Anian had made his complaints and those of his church known publicly and they are likely to have been made known to the Pope.¹⁹⁴ Cistercian abbots felt Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's plight, and wrote to Gregory X defending him against Anian's accusations.¹⁹⁵ In March 1275, seven abbots from

¹⁸⁶ Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 386–9 and J. G. Edwards, ed., *Littere Wallie* (Cardiff, 1940), pp. lvii–lx.

¹⁸⁷ Smith, *Llywelyn*, p. 389 and AWR, p. 570.

¹⁸⁸ See Chapter 2, p. 89.

¹⁸⁹ G. Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, rev. ed. (Cardiff, 1976), p. 31. See also *ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

¹⁹⁰ For the dispute with Anian of St Asaph and Anian of Bangor see *ibid.*, pp. 8–14 and D. Stephenson, *Political Power in Medieval Gwynedd: Governance and the Welsh Princes*, 2nd edition, Studies in Welsh History 5 (Cardiff, 2014), pp. 173–81.

¹⁹¹ Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 210–13 and p. 258.

¹⁹² AoC, p. 326.

¹⁹³ Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 213–15, AoC, p. 326. For the possible influence of Archbishop Kilwardby of Canterbury (1272–1278) on this process, see Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 408–9.

¹⁹⁴ *Councils*, i., pp. 511–16. See also Stephenson, *Political Power*, pp. 176–7 and Williams, *Welsh Church*, p. 10.

¹⁹⁵ *Councils*, i. pp. 498–9 and J. F. O'Sullivan, *Cistercian Settlements in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1140–1540*, Fordham University Studies, History Series 2 (New York, 1947), p. 68. On the date of this letter see Stephenson, *Political Power*, p. 175, n. 42 and Pryce, 'Medieval Church', p. 282, n. 174.

the family of Whitland Abbey wrote to the Pope praising Llywelyn's history of supporting the Church and in particular his defence of their order and other monastic orders in Wales.¹⁹⁶

Anian also appears to have written to Pope Gregory regarding discipline within his own diocese. It seems that a cleric of St Asaph had ignored instructions from Anian in favour of orders from another bishop. Anian received permission to suspend the cleric for some time.¹⁹⁷

The safety of his own position concerned him on another occasion, when he appealed to Martin IV for permission to move his see to Rhuddlan, perhaps because of the greater protection offered by the town's castle. He was supported in this by Edward I, though the move never occurred.¹⁹⁸

The papacy's power was also displayed by other means such as the appointment of papal judges-delegate. Popes frequently deputised the hearing of disputes to local officials, providing guidance and varying the judges' powers as appropriate.¹⁹⁹ The judges-delegate for instance could issue summons for witnesses. In a letter, Bishop Thomas Wallensis cites a papal mandate from Innocent IV summoning him to appear before the Bishops of Worcester and of Bath and Wells, who were acting as papal judges-delegate.²⁰⁰

David fitz Gerald (Bishop of St Davids, 1148–76) appears as a papal judge-delegate on behalf of Alexander III in a case concerning the rights of St. Peter's, Gloucester to the church of Llanbadarn Fawr. According to a judgment issued by the bishop, Gloucester alleged that

¹⁹⁶ Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 379–80 and p. 381, Stephenson, *Political Power*, p. 182.

¹⁹⁷ *Councils*, i., p. 498 and O. E. Jones, *Llyfr Coch Asaph: A Textual and Historical study* (University of Wales, MA thesis, 1968), p. 59.

¹⁹⁸ *Councils*, i., pp. 529 and pp. 530–1, and T. Jones-Pierce, 'Einion ap Ynyr (Anian II), Bishop of St Asaph', *Flintshire Historical Society Publications* 17 (1957), 16–33, pp. 31–2.

¹⁹⁹ Cheney, *Innocent III*, pp. 104–6 and R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075–1225* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 411–12.

²⁰⁰ Barrow, *St Davids*, 119.

“certain persons” had denied its rights to the church during war in 1175.²⁰¹ The abbey had been granted the rights to the church earlier in the twelfth century, when Bernard of St Davids witnessed the founding document.²⁰² Bishop David ruled in favour of Gloucester. The judgment was roundly ignored as the area remained under Welsh control until the Edwardian conquest.²⁰³

Further disputes with Gloucester occurred during the pontificate of Innocent III, this time over the status of Llanthony Prima and Llanthony Secunda.²⁰⁴ In 1204, Bishop Geoffrey of St Davids (1203–14), a former prior of Llanthony Prima, complained to the Pope about encroachment by the Earl of Hereford on the right to appoint a prior to Llanthony Secunda.²⁰⁵ Pope Innocent responded by appointing the Bishop of Rochester and the Abbots of Reading and Chertsey to investigate the dispute.²⁰⁶ These judges-delegate never met because a compromise was negotiated between the two parties. Despite Cheney’s scepticism about the papacy’s role in settling the matter, this is an example of how it might contribute to dispute resolution.²⁰⁷

In another letter from Urban IV, the Bishop and Archdeacon of Llandaff were ordered to decide the case between the Dean and chapter of Hereford and Dominicans who had established themselves near Hereford.²⁰⁸ The case’s details are preserved in letters and

²⁰¹ Barrow, *St Davids*, 32 and EAWD i, D.186.

²⁰² EAWD i, D.79.

²⁰³ Gloucester would continue to contest its rights to Llanbadarn until the fourteenth century. See J. Knight, *South Wales from the Romans to the Normans: Christianity, Literacy and Lordship* (Stroud, 2013), p. 154 and the references found there.

²⁰⁴ Barrow, *St Davids*, 66. Some evidence provided for the case is found in Barrow, *St Davids*, 67.

²⁰⁵ Cheney, *Innocent III*, p. 192.

²⁰⁶ Barrow, *St Davids*, p. 89.

²⁰⁷ Cheney, *Innocent III*, pp. 192–3.

²⁰⁸ W. W. Capes, ed., *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford, 1908), pp. 116–18, J. E. Sayers, *Original Papal Documents in England and Wales from the Accession of Pope Innocent III to the Death of Pope Benedict XI (1198–1304)* (Oxford, 1999), 650 and B. G. Charles and H. D. Emmanuel, H. D., eds., *A Calendar of the earlier Hereford Cathedral Muniments*, 3 vols. (Aberystwyth and Hereford, 1955), 1332.

administrative documents in the archive of Hereford Cathedral, which detail the organisation of the repeatedly delayed hearings.²⁰⁹ Eventually, the Treasurer of Llandaff ruled in the chapter's favour, though his decision was overturned on appeal to the papal legate Ottobuono, owing to the violent methods used to expel the Dominicans from Hereford.²¹⁰

Disputes also lie at the heart of Anian II of St Asaph's encounters with the Curia. A dispute over the jurisdiction of the border commote of Gorddŵr with Thomas de Cantilupe (Bishop of Hereford, 1275–82) had been referred to the Curia by November 1277 and, was referred there again in 1283 following the accession of Richard Swinefield (1282–1317) to Hereford. The matter was finally resolved in Hereford's favour through a local commission of enquiry in 1288.²¹¹ Anian had also assisted John fitz Alan in his dispute with the Abbey of St Peter's, Shrewsbury over the advowson of St. Oswald's which was referred to the Curia in 1272.²¹² The Abbot of Valle Crucis appealed to Rome against Anian over the rights to present vicarages in Llangollen and Wrexham and the case was delegated by Gregory X to the Abbot of Talley in 1274. The Abbot's case may have been subsidised by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, whose dispute with Anian was ongoing at this time.²¹³ As in the litigation against Shrewsbury, the dispute was settled privately by the parties.

²⁰⁹ The relevant documents are, chronologically, Charles and Emmanuel, *Calendar*, 1354, 1355, 1345, 1346, 2209, 2207, 2208, 2205, 2206, 1348 and EAWD ii, L.510, L. 511, L.519, L.513, L.518 and L.520.

²¹⁰ Capes, *Charters*, pp. 120–1, Charles and Emmanuel, *Calendar*, 2211 and 2212 and EAWD ii, L.521 and L.528. The involvement of Llandaff's officials lasted for three years in a long running dispute, for which see W. N. Yates, 'The attempts to establish a Dominican priory at Hereford, 1246–1342', *Downside Review* 87 (1969), 254–67, especially pp. 258–9, with the involvement of Llandaff officials in the case summarised in id., 'Bishop Peter de Aquablanca (1240–1268): a Reconsideration', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 22 (1971), 303–317, p. 309. See also *English Episcopal Acta 35: Hereford 1234–1275*, ed. J. Barrow (Oxford, 2009), p. 109, and Chapter 2, p. 79.

²¹¹ Jones, *Llyfr Coch Asaph*, ii., pp. 144–53.

²¹² Ibid., ii., pp. 126–33.

²¹³ Ibid., ii., pp. 137–44 and Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 379–80.

The papacy could take an even more direct role through papal legates. Under the guidance of the papal legate, Theobald of Bec (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1138–61), Bishop Nicholas of Llandaff oversaw the case between Gloucester Abbey and Picot, chaplain to Robert and William, Earls of Gloucester and Lords of Glamorgan.²¹⁴ Gloucester won the case, regaining control over the church of St. Gwynllyw, Newport, in the process.²¹⁵

Llywelyn ap Iorwerth sought to make use of the papacy through legates in his attempt to govern Gwynedd. He wrote twice to the papal legate Pandulf about the application of the Treaty of Worcester.²¹⁶ In the first instance, Llywelyn complained that the men of Pembrokeshire were not adhering to the terms agreed with the legate.²¹⁷ The second letter deals with Llywelyn's own breach of the agreement.²¹⁸ Llywelyn justified his refusal to transfer Maelienydd to the King as expected under the treaty.²¹⁹ As in his letters to Honorius III regarding the succession to Gwynedd, Llywelyn here attempted to use the papacy's power for his own ends.

Honorius, along with the legate Guala, is mentioned in a proclamation by Bishop Iorwerth of St Davids (1215–29) concerning a dispute over tithes due to Brecon priory.²²⁰ During the

²¹⁴ The relevant documents are Crouch, *Llandaff*, 11–14 and Hart, *Historia et Cartularium*, DIX, DX, DXII and DXIII. See also EAWD ii, L.133–140.

²¹⁵ For the case see C. N. L. Brooke, 'St Peter of Gloucester and St Cadog of Llancarfan' in N. K. Chadwick, ed., *Celt and Saxon. Studies in the Early British Border* (Cambridge, 1963; rev. imp., 1964), pp. 258–322, reprinted in C. N. L. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages*, Studies in Celtic History 8 (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 50–94, at pp. 52–3, J. K. Knight, 'St. Tatheus of Caerwent: An analysis of the Vespasian Life', *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 3 (1970–78), 29–36, at pp. 34–5 and J. R. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales*, Studies in Celtic History 21 (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 134.

²¹⁶ AWR, 240–242. For Pandulf, see Cazel Jr., 'The Legates', p. 16 and pp. 19–21 and N. Vincent, 'The Election of Pandulph Verraclo as Bishop of Norwich (1215)', *Historical Research* 68 (1995), 143–63, especially pp. 156–60. For Llywelyn's letters see Walker, 'Hubert de Burgh', pp. 471–3.

²¹⁷ AWR, 246. Llywelyn would later invade Pembrokeshire himself. For this campaign see D. A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990), pp. 217–20

²¹⁸ AWR, 247.

²¹⁹ On the background to Maelienydd see J. B. Smith, 'The Middle March in the Thirteenth Century', *BBCS*, 24 (1970–2), 77–93.

²²⁰ Barrow, *St Davids*, 77 and EAWD i, D.442. For the life and career of Guala see above, p. 108, n. 73.

dispute, Hywel of Ystrad Yw and Hywel ap Cynan, who claimed part of the tithes for themselves, obtained letters issued by Honorius and Guala to support their case. These letters delayed the case, much to the bishop's displeasure.²²¹ Even if the judgment suggests the letters were obtained under false pretences, they were clearly considered important. That an inquiry should be delayed by letters from the Pope and his officer demonstrates this.

In one instance, the power of the judge-delegate system and legatine power is concurrent. Elias of Radnor (Bishop of Llandaff, 1230–40) is responsible for a proclamation regarding the quitclaim of tithes from the parish of Kenfig, Glamorganshire by Tewkesbury Abbey.²²² Tewkesbury had resorted to litigation against Margam Abbey to secure its due. For the sake of peace, Robert Abbot of Tewkesbury had given up its claim to the tithes in the presence of Bishop Elias. The case was heard by an unidentified 'S', Prior of Chepstow whose authority derived from the legate Otto. This is yet another example of the papacy's influence in Welsh affairs.

The papacy's growing importance is further reflected by a notification from Elias concerning the abbey of St Mary in Glory in Anagni.²²³ Elias caused the placing of the church of St. Leonard's, Magor, to be transferred to brother Deodatus of the abbey because of his love for Gregory IX. This followed a grant of the lands of St. Leonard's by Gilbert Marshal.²²⁴

The desire to please the papacy is also seen in a proclamation by Richard Carew of St Davids. He proclaimed fifteen days' remittance from penance for any who attended Mass.²²⁵ These

²²¹ He describes the effect of obtaining the letters as "disturbing and impeding" (*turbaretur et impederetur*) the negotiations. Barrow, *St Davids*, 77 and EAWD i, p. 348.

²²² Crouch, *Llandaff*, 78 and EAWD ii, L.378.

²²³ Crouch, *Llandaff*, 67 and EAWD ii, L.381.

²²⁴ See Chapter 2, pp. 62–3.

²²⁵ Barrow, *St Davids*, 135 and EAWD i, D.670.

masses were for the soul of the Pope, the Church, the King and Queen and all the benefactors of the University of Oxford and were based on a proclamation by the legate Ottobuono. Richard had a close relationship with Alexander IV as he had been consecrated bishop by him in Rome, and sent several letters of commendation in his favour.²²⁶ With such a close connection to the institution, it is little wonder that Richard made a point of promoting prayers for the papacy's spiritual wellbeing.

²²⁶ See Chapter 2, pp. 69–70.

Rome and the papacy in Welsh law

Some forty medieval manuscripts of Welsh law survive, dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries.¹ With the exception of six manuscripts written mainly in Latin but peppered with vernacular legal terms, all are written in Middle Welsh.² The Middle Welsh manuscripts are divided into three redactions, each called after jurists named in their prologues as associated with their creation: Iorwerth (associated with Gwynedd), Cyfnerth (associated with Maelienydd, an area of Radnorshire) and Blegywryd (associated with south-west Wales).³ The law described in each manuscript is customary law compiled by lawyers and cannot, for the most part, be associated with an individual ruler or piece of legislation.⁴ The full texts are compilations curated and edited by lawyers and divided into tractates

¹ For an overview of Welsh law see T. M. Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws* (Cardiff, 1989) and H. Pryce, 'Lawbooks and Literacy in Medieval Wales', *Speculum* 75 (2000), 29–67 at pp. 34–41. See also the brief introductory notes by S. E. Roberts on the website of the 'Cyfraith Hywel' ('Law of Hywel') project (<http://cyfraith-hywel.cymru.ac.uk/>). It should be noted that I was employed as a research assistant for this project, compiling the database of the manuscripts' contents. For examples of Welsh law being committed to writing before the surviving manuscripts see H. Pryce, 'The Context and Purpose of the Earliest Welsh Lawbooks', *CMCS* 39 (Summer, 2000), 39–63, at pp. 43–5.

² The Latin texts are found in H. D. Emanuel, ed., *The Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws* (Cardiff, 1967), although the text for 'Latin C' has since been superseded by P. Russell, ed. and trans., *Welsh Law in Medieval Anglesey. British Library, Harleian MS 1796 (Latin C)*, Texts and Studies in Medieval Welsh Law II (Cambridge, 2011). A translation of 'Latin A' may be found in I. F. Fletcher, trans., *Latin Redaction A of the Law of Hywel*, Pamffledi Cyfraith Hywel (Aberystwyth, 1986). See also Pryce, 'Lawbooks', p. 39 and pp. 41–2. For the bilingualism of Welsh law texts see *ibid.*, p. 37 and for 'Latin C' in particular see Russell, *Op. cit.*, pp. xxiv–xxxiii.

³ For the Iorwerth redaction, see A. Rh. William, ed., *Llyfr Iorwerth* (Cardiff, 1960). For the Cyfnerth redaction see A. W. Wade-Evans, ed. and trans., *Welsh Medieval Law* (Oxford, 1909) and S. E. Roberts, ed. and trans., *Llawysgrif Pomffred: An Edition and Study of Peniarth MS 259B*, Medieval Law and Its Practice 10 (Leiden, 2011). For the Blegywryd redaction see S. J. Williams, and J. E. Powell, eds., *Llyfr Blegywryd* (Cardiff, 1942) and M. Richards, ed., *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda Yn Ôl Llawysgrif Coleg Yr Iesu LVII* (Cardiff, 1990). A translation of the law based on the Iorwerth redaction text, but with some examples from the other redactions is found in D. Jenkins, trans., *The Law of Hywel Dda: Law Texts from Medieval Wales*, Welsh Classics 2 (Llandysul, 1986). See also Pryce, 'Lawbooks', pp. 38–9.

⁴ Pryce, 'Lawbooks', p. 34. For examples running counter to the rule see D. Jenkins, 'The Medieval Welsh Idea of Law', *Tiidschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 49 (1981), 324–48, at pp. 328–30, and H. Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 242–6. The examples provided by Jenkins are discussed in the context of increasing royal power in R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford, 2000), p. 65.

dealing with different aspects of law.⁵ The laws portray a greater legal unity for Wales than was ever achieved by Welsh polities and thus project an image of Welsh nationhood.⁶

Given this purpose as propaganda and the political circumstances in which the lawbooks were produced in the thirteenth century, it is perhaps unsurprising that the laws are associated with Hywel ap Cadell (d. 950), who ruled a vast swathe of what is now Wales in the tenth century. Hywel has traditionally been associated with a revision of Welsh law, as most medieval Welsh law manuscripts contain in their prologue the story of how Hywel, during Lent, gathered lay and ecclesiastical men from each *cantref* to the White House on the Taf to discuss the laws of Wales.⁷ Through this story, it is implied that Welsh people were civilised, Christian and that they valued wise and just law. Hywel's responsibility for codifying the law is open to doubt, as there is no evidence independent of the prologues to confirm what they report.⁸ However, it is evident that by the thirteenth century Hywel's name and therefore his authority was associated with Welsh law.⁹ Perhaps Stacey best summarises the situation: "Hywel's actual connections with the written law are still a matter of some controversy among historians, but few would dispute the tremendous symbolic importance he exercised on the political imagination of the day. In a climate in which the traditional was equated with the authoritative, Hywel's textual legacy was a card not easily to be trumped."¹⁰ The fact that

⁵ Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws*, p. 23, Pryce, 'Lawbooks', p. 38 and *AoC*, p. 133.

⁶ Pryce, 'Context and Purpose', pp. 50–1 and *AoC*, p. 18 and p. 134.

⁷ H. Pryce, 'The Prologues to the Welsh Lawbooks', *BBCS* 33 (1986), 151–87, p. 151. Pryce gives a selection of texts and their translations as an appendix to his article at pp. 183–7. See also Jenkins, *The Law*, pp. xii–xv. None of the texts included by Pryce contain the "Roman story". For an edition and translation of the story see M. E. Owen, 'Royal Propaganda: Stories from the Law-Texts', in T. M. Charles-Edwards, M. E. Owen and P. Russell, ed., *The Welsh King and his Court* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 224–254 at pp. 246–8. It may have been this traditional association that is responsible for Hywel gaining his epithet Hywel Dda, Hywel the Good. See Pryce, 'Prologues', pp. 166–7.

⁸ Pryce, 'Prologues' and *NL*, p. 3. For an alternative view see T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 267–71 and id., *Welsh Laws*, pp. 82–6.

⁹ *NL*, p. 3, *WB*, p. 268 and R. C. Stacey, 'Hywel in the World', in W. North, ed., *The Haskins Society Journal* 20 (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 175–203, at p. 176.

¹⁰ R. C. Stacey 'Learning to Plead in Medieval Welsh Law', *SC* 38 (2004), 107–23 at pp. 107–8.

Hywel predated two English kings associated with the law, Edward the Confessor (1042–66) and Henry I (1100–35), and was a contemporary and associate of another, Æthelstan (924–39), would also doubtless have appealed to Welsh lawyers who sought to emphasise the antiquity claimed for the law.¹¹

Perhaps taking advantage of the fact that Hywel is known to have travelled to Rome in c. 928, some manuscripts state that Hywel took the laws with him to be blessed by the Pope.¹² Indeed, some later manuscripts even go so far as to (incorrectly) name the Pope concerned as Anastasius.¹³ The passage in this text continues by supplying the date of Hywel’s visit to Rome as 914. Clearly, this contradicts the date given by *Annales Cambriae* for Hywel’s visit, and as it does not even match the regnal dates of any Pope by the name of Anastasius (Anastasius III had died in the autumn of 913). It may be explained by Anastasius being in power when Hywel began to reign.¹⁴ There is no evidence that Hywel Dda took any laws with him to Rome. Indeed, the fact that this story only appears in texts of the thirteenth century and later would seem to confirm that it was later propaganda.¹⁵

In the late thirteenth century Welsh law, from a Welsh lawyer’s perspective, was under attack from secular rulers who preferred using the laws of England, a King prepared to exercise his authority and ecclesiastical reformers.¹⁶ Pryce has argued that, in addition to Hywel’s

¹¹ Stacey, ‘Hywel’, p. 197 and n. 98. For more on Hywel’s connections with Æthelstan’s court see Loyn, ‘Wales’, pp. 290–5 and pp. 298–301, Keynes, ‘Welsh Kings’, pp. 105–6 and pp. 108–10 and see Chapter 3, p. 103, n. 42.

¹² Owen, ‘Royal Propaganda’, pp. 226–7 and *WB*, pp. 267–8.

¹³ See Roberts, *Llawysgrif Pomffred*, 1616 (pp. 198–9).

¹⁴ Roberts, *Llawysgrif Pomffred*, pp. 38–9 and p. 327 and Pryce, ‘Prologues’, p. 165.

¹⁵ Owen, ‘Royal Propaganda’, p. 228.

¹⁶ See for instance R. R. Davies, ‘Law and National Identity in Thirteenth-Century Wales’, in R. R. Davies, R. A. Griffiths, I. G. Jones and K. O. Morgan, eds., *Welsh Society and Nationhood: Historical Essays presented to Glanmor Williams* (Cardiff, 1984), pp. 51–69, at pp. 57–8, *NL*, pp. 71–112, Pryce, ‘Lawbooks and Literacy’, pp. 34–5, id., ‘Context and Purpose’, pp. 55–61 and id., ‘Welsh Rulers and European Change, c.1100–1282’, in H. Pryce and J. Watts, eds., *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 37–51, at pp. 46–8 and L. J. Radiker, “‘In Defiance of the Gospel and by Authority of the Devil’:

inclusion in the text as an authority figure that he was included to provide an example to contemporary rulers of a ruler engaged in protecting Welsh law. This appears to have been a concern for contemporary lawyers, especially those involved with compiling the Iorwerth redaction, and is reflected in the number of narrative tales concerned with predecessor rulers.¹⁷ The Arwystli Case between Edward I and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, as Davies argued, though superficially about the application of law in Arwystli was really about the wielding of political power following Llywelyn's defeat of 1276–77, and would also have concerned Welsh lawyers.¹⁸

Another impetus for the inclusion of this tale in the prologue at this time may have been the attacks upon the Law of Hywel by John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury (1279–92), who had claimed that Welsh law was ungodly.¹⁹ If this was the reason for the story's incorporation into the law texts, then one may easily justify Owen's contention that "the Roman story might well have been added to the prologues as a further defence of Welsh law in the face of attack from Canterbury, by appealing to the authority of the head of Christendom."²⁰ Inclusion on these grounds would demonstrate a clear regard by thirteenth-century Welshmen for the

Criticism of Welsh Marriage Law by the English Ecclesiastical Establishment and its Socio-Political Context', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 20/21 (2000/2001), 377–416.

¹⁷ Pryce, 'The Prologues', pp. 178–9, Owen, 'Royal Propaganda', p. 246, Davies, 'Law and National identity', pp. 54–5 and Charles-Edwards, *Welsh Laws*, pp. 84–5.

¹⁸ R. R. Davies, *The King of England and the Prince of Wales, 1277–84: Law, Politics, and Power*, Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lectures on Medieval Welsh History 3 (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 4–7 and pp. 17–21, and id., 'Law and National Identity', pp. 59–69, J. B. Smith, 'England and Wales: The Conflict of Laws', in M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame, eds., *Thirteenth Century England VII*, (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 189–205, and D. Stephenson, *Medieval Powys: Kingdom, Principality and Lordships, 1132–1293*, *Studies in Celtic History* 35 (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 154–5 and cf. id., 'The Arwystli Case', *Montgomery Collections* 94 (2006), 1–13, where the economic and strategic advantages of control over Arwystli to Llywelyn are emphasised.

¹⁹ Jenkins, *The Law*, p. xxii, Owen, 'Royal Propaganda', p. 228, AoC, pp. 367–8, Pryce, 'Prologues', p. 176, id., *NL*, p. 13 and pp. 74–5. For more on Archbishop Pecham's contentions, see Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 480–1.

²⁰ Owen, 'Royal Propaganda', p. 228 and see also J. G. Edwards, 'Hywel Dda and the Welsh Lawbooks' (Bangor, 1929) reprinted in D. Jenkins, ed., *Celtic Law Papers: Introductory to Welsh Medieval Law and Government* (Brussels, 1973), 138–60, pp. 146–8. Davies compares Hywel's inclusion and journey to Rome with the inclusion of St. Patrick in the Irish *Senchas Már* during the twelfth century. See Davies, 'Law and National identity', p. 57.

papacy as a font of authority and legitimacy, or at the least the belief that English churchmen would have such a regard.

This view is given added credence when one considers the prologues as a whole. The meeting at Whitland took place during Lent and Hywel, according to the Iorwerth redaction, solicited advice from two ecclesiastics “lest the laymen should set down anything which might be against Holy Scripture.”²¹ The prologues give the impression of being an attempt to justify the laws associated with Hywel to Church reformers as the laws were deficient with regards to Canon law.²² These successive accretions of associating the revision of laws to an ancestor figure and then crediting him with holding a meeting during a time of repentance, being guided by the Church’s advice and receiving the consent and blessing of its spiritual leader all amount to a case for the defence of the laws.²³ It might even be implied that Hywel’s pilgrimage to Rome was the main reason for his association with the Welsh law in the first place.

The papacy makes a second appearance in the Iorwerth text at the beginning of the tractate discussing suretyship.²⁴ It occurs in a didactic section of the text, which bears a close resemblance to *cynghawsedd*, the genre of medieval Welsh legal writing used to instruct

²¹ *Llyfr Iorwerth*, 1.2 and Jenkins, p. 1. See also Pryce, ‘Prologues’, pp. 169–71.

²² H. Pryce, ‘Yr Eglwys a’r Gyfraith yng Nghymru’r Oesoedd Canol’ in *Cof Cenedl X* (1995), 1–30, at p. 5, id., ‘Welsh Custom’, pp. 787–9, *NL*, pp. 82–112 and S. E. Roberts, ‘By the authority of the Devil’: The operation of Welsh and English law in Medieval Wales’, in R. Kennedy and S. Meecham-Jones, eds., *Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales*, (Basingstoke, 2008) pp. 85–97, at p. 92.

²³ On the role attributed to kings in the formation of law in Europe see A. Harding, ‘Legislators, Lawyers and Lawbooks’, in T. M. Charles-Edwards, M. E. Owen and D. B. Walters, eds., *Lawyers and Laymen* (Cardiff, 1986), pp. 237–57, at p. 249.

²⁴ *Llyfr Iorwerth*, 58.1–60.7. For a translation see Jenkins, *The Law*, pp. 63–5. Suretyship in Welsh law is discussed in T. M. Charles-Edwards, M. E. Owen, and D. B. Walters, eds., *Lawyers and Laymen* (Cardiff, 1986) and in chapters 4–6 of R. C. Stacey, *The Road to Judgment* (Philadelphia, 1994). The rules set out in the passage were clearly influential as they also impacted on procedure regarding the law of *Briduw*. See H. Pryce, ‘Duw yn lle Mach: Briduw yng Nghyfraith Hywel’, in T. M. Charles-Edwards, M. E. Owen and D. B. Walters, eds., *Lawyers and Laymen* (Cardiff, 1986), pp. 47–71, p. 51.

lawyers in pleading cases. The purpose of learning *cynghawsedd* was to “encourage creative thinking about how to manoeuvre within established pleading structures as they were to communicate a knowledge of the workings of those structures in the first place.”²⁵ Although the term *cynghawsedd* is not used in this section, and is indeed confined to the tractate on land law, this passage is clearly related to this type of legal writing.²⁶ *Cynghawsedd* was a newly developing genre in twelfth-century Gwynedd and the passage in question shows signs of being altered to reflect the most recent developments.²⁷ The passage’s contents are perhaps best summarised by Charles-Edwards: “We are taken through a case in which a debtor denies having given a particular man as a surety, though the surety himself and the creditor concur in accepting his suretyship... In this instance, then, the legal story includes verbatim interchanges between creditor, debtor, surety and judge, in the course of which the debtor is gradually pushed from mere denial to denial on oath and finally to compurgation.”²⁸ When it comes to swearing the veracity of his case, the judge asks the debtor to swear against the protection of God, the Pope and the debtor’s secular Lord that he will not give false testimony.²⁹ The religious dimension is further emphasised by the fact that the swearing must take place on a relic held in the judge’s hand.³⁰

Relics were held in high regard in Welsh society, as seen in the works of Gerald of Wales and the references to them in Welsh law.³¹ They represented a saint’s authority and power.

²⁵ Stacey, ‘Learning to Plead’, p. 113. For more on *cynghawsedd* see T. M. Charles-Edwards, ‘*Cynghawsedd*: Counting and Pleading in Medieval Welsh Law’, *BBCS* 33 (1986), 188–98, id., *Welsh Laws*, pp. 53–67, Stacey ‘Learning to Plead’ and S. E. Roberts, ‘Addysg Broffesiynol yng Nghymru yn yr Oesoedd Canol: Y Beirdd a’r Cyfreithwyr’, *Llên Cymru* 26 (2003), 1–17, at p. 16. See also A. Rh. William, ‘Llyfr Cynghawsedd’, *BBCS* 35 (1988), 73–85.

²⁶ Charles-Edwards, ‘*Cynghawsedd*’, p. 190.

²⁷ Stacey, *Road to Judgement*, p. 145 and ead., ‘The Archaic Core of Llyfr Iorwerth’, in T. M. Charles-Edwards, M. E. Owen and D. B. Walters, eds., *Lawyers and Laymen* (Cardiff, 1986), pp. 15–46 at p. 32.

²⁸ Charles-Edwards, ‘*Cynghawsedd*’, p. 190.

²⁹ *Llyfr Iorwerth*, 59.3, Jenkins, *The Law*, p. 64. On the legal term *nawdd* (protection) and its application in Welsh law see *NL*, pp. 165–9.

³⁰ On the use of relics in Welsh law see *NL*, pp. 41–4 and Pryce, ‘Duw yn lle Mach’, pp. 51–3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, and Chapter 3, pp. 110–11.

Should the debtor lie whilst swearing on a saint's relics, he risked incurring that saint's wrath. Allied with this possibility was the threat of earthly vengeance by the debtor's secular superior and spiritual sanction for lying before God. In such company comes the Pope, a figure who bridges the secular and spiritual divide and could impose penalties in both worlds. Describing the effects of lying having sworn on a saint's relic, Pryce argued that the "threat of saintly vengeance... provided a potent substitute, or at least reinforcement, for the secular and ecclesiastical penalties".³² The same principle could be extended to the oath read by the Judge. Sanction from these three figures and the saint of the relics was aimed at preventing perjury, and is but one example of Welsh law's dependence on religious presuppositions and ecclesiastical cooperation.³³ This connection with perjury led Charles-Edwards to suggest that the Pope's inclusion in the text was inspired by the fact of perjury being an offence against Canon law.³⁴ That the Pope should be mentioned in what is an up-to-date section of the text demonstrates the high regard that the Iorwerth text's redactions had for the papacy.

High regard for the papacy's power is revealed in several later redactions, notably in three which qualify for consideration here. These are 'Latin B', dating from the mid-thirteenth century and probably originating from Gwynedd; 'Latin D' a text from the later thirteenth century from South Wales; and 'Llyfr Colan', a revised version of the Iorwerth redaction displaying similar features to the aforementioned Latin redactions.³⁵ We see that, following the loss of inheritance for the most serious homicides (killing in "secret", betraying a Lord and killing a *pencendl* (head of a kin) in 'Latin B'), the killer could travel to Rome, undertake penance as prescribed by the Pope and then be restored to the inheritance if they could

³² *NL*, pp. 43–4.

³³ Pryce, 'Duw yn le Mach', p. 47.

³⁴ T. M. Charles-Edwards, ed. and trans., 'The 'Iorwerth' Text, in T. M. Charles-Edwards, M. E. Owen and D. B. Walters, eds., *Lawyers and Laymen* (Cardiff, 1986), pp. 137–78, at p. 166.

³⁵ *LTWL*, pp. 40–5 and pp. 68–72 and D. Jenkins, ed., *Llyfr Colan* (Cardiff, 1963), pp. xxvi–xxxiii.

produce a letter from the Pope proving the completion of penance.³⁶ Homicide triggered the concept of “kin-responsibility” under Welsh law, meaning that the killer’s family up to the fifth cousin would have to pay *galanas*, a life price of appropriate value for the victim.³⁷ Given the societal impact of homicide, it is unsurprising that a killer would have to undertake such a dangerous journey to a source of divine authority to regain his patrimony.

The papacy’s influence may well be seen elsewhere in ‘Latin D’. The manuscript’s compiler, probably a cleric, emphasises the importance of written law to a greater degree than other contemporary manuscripts.³⁸ Pryce draws attention to the emphasis in ‘Latin D’ on law being guided by reason and the need for judgements to conform with what was written in law texts, drawing a comparison between these points and the similar emphasis in the *Liber Extra* promulgated by Gregory IX.³⁹ Although a direct influence on the compiler of ‘Latin D’ by the *Liber Extra* cannot be proven, the similarities highlighted by Pryce are worth noting.

The only comparison of Welsh Law with any other legal system in the Welsh law books occurs in the Iorwerth redaction:

³⁶ *LTWL*, p. 231.17–28 and p. 388.24–35 and *Llyfr Colan*, §283–§288. See also the comments on these passages and the later manuscripts in *NL*, pp. 66–7. On the development of this section of Colan see T. M. Charles-Edwards, ‘The Galanas Tractate in Iorwerth: Texts and Legal Development’ in T. M. Charles-Edwards and P. Russell, eds., *Tair Colofn Cyfraith: The Three Columns of Law in Medieval Wales, Homicide, Theft and Fire*, Welsh Legal History Society 5 (Bangor, 2007), pp. 92–107 at pp. 94–7.

³⁷ *AoC*, pp. 124–5, D. Jenkins, ‘Crime and Tort and the Three Columns of Law’ in T. M. Charles-Edwards and P. Russell, eds., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 1–25 and T. M. Charles-Edwards, ‘The Three Columns: A Comparative Perspective’ in T. M. Charles-Edwards and P. Russell, eds., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 26–59, at pp. 29–39.

³⁸ Pryce, ‘Lawbooks’, pp. 54–9.

³⁹ Pryce, ‘Lawbooks’, p. 58 and see A. A. Larson, ‘Popes and Canon Law’, in A. A. Larson and K. Sisson, eds., *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 70 (Leiden, 2016), pp. 135–57, at pp. 140–2.

“Keureyth eglues a dyweyt na dele un mab tref tat namen e mab hynaf e’r tat o’r wreyc pryaut. Keureyth Hewel a’e barn e’r mab yeuhaf megys e’r hynaf, ac a uarn na dotter pechaut e tat na’e agkeureyth en erbyn e mab am tref e tat.”⁴⁰

This section claims to contrast the law of the Church with the law of Hywel, which allowed illegitimate sons to inherit their father’s patrimony provided that the father acknowledged paternity, with regards to the law of partible inheritance and illegitimacy.⁴¹ It was doing nothing of the sort. As Jenkins and Pryce have pointed out, the law being compared with that of Hywel was English Common law and practice, albeit Common law that had assimilated aspects of Canon law.⁴² Although Canon law provided the concept of legitimacy and disapproved of illegitimate children inheriting patrimony, it did not specifically prohibit inheritance by them. As Pryce suggests, the passage also implies that preference was given to Welsh customary law over Canon law, and that the passage’s author emphasised defending the right of illegitimate children to inherit property rather than an outright rejection of Canon law.⁴³

⁴⁰ *Llyfr Iorwerth*, 87.4–5. “Church law says that no son is entitled to patrimony save the father’s eldest son by the wedded wife. The law of Hywel adjudges it to the youngest son as to the eldest, and judges that the father’s sin and his illegality should not be set against the son for his patrimony”. Jenkins, *The Law*, p. 110. A version of this passage in another group of manuscripts belonging to the Iorwerth redaction does not mention Church law at all, merely that the law had said another time that no son is entitled to patrimony save for the eldest son of the father’s wife. See *NL*, pp. 98–9.

⁴¹ For the Welsh law of affiliation see *Llyfr Iorwerth*, 100.1–103.4 and Jenkins, *The Law*, pp. 132–7. Walters draws attention to a triad in ‘Latin B’ which does not allow for partible inheritance between a son born before the parents were married and a son born after the parents were wedded. It is not an exact parallel with the case of Llywelyn and his sons outlined below, but it is interesting to note the influence that Llywelyn’s actions might have on lawbooks in Gwynedd. See *LTWL*, p. 231.4–16 and D. B. Walters, ‘Roman and Romano-Canonical Law and Procedure in Wales’, *Recueil de mémoires et travaux publié par la Société d’histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*, 15 (1991), 67–102, at p. 72, n. 14.

⁴² Jenkins, *The Law*, p. 265, Pryce, ‘Yr Eglwys’, p. 7, id., ‘Welsh custom’, p. 791 and R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 2006), pp. 41–2. This might reflect an equation of reformist clergy with English clergy, perhaps further explaining the lawbooks hostility towards reform.

⁴³ Pryce, ‘Welsh Custom’, pp. 791–2 and see also R. C. Stacey, ‘Divorce, Medieval Welsh Style’, *Speculum* 77 (2002), 1107–27, at pp. 1122–5. Later texts from South Wales would take a different stance on illegitimacy for which see Pryce, *Op. cit.*, pp. 792–3.

Given the lack of substance behind the statement, *keureyth eglues* would seem a strange choice of words by the Iorwerth text's compilers. One way of explaining this discrepancy is by reference to a letter from Honorius III to Llywelyn ap Iorwerth which granted Llywelyn permission to alter the law of his land so that Dafydd ap Llywelyn would be recognised as Llywelyn's sole heir.⁴⁴ This gave Dafydd, Llywelyn's son by his wife Joan, preference over Gruffudd, Llywelyn's son by his mistress Tangwystl. Both letter and law discuss the same subject, which are the arrangements for inheritance. Although Honorius does not concern himself with the principle of primogeniture in his letter, the texts are otherwise comparable. There is a striking similarity between the description of Joan as *uxor tua legitima*⁴⁵ and the reference to *[g]wreyc pryaut* in the law text.⁴⁶ One might also highlight the different concepts of illegitimacy expressed by letter and law text. The former has the burden of illegitimacy placed upon the children, whilst the latter places any notion of illegality on the children's father.

We know that the Iorwerth redaction was extensively reworked and developed during Llywelyn's reign as prince of Gwynedd and that the text reflects the concerns of the prince and his advisors in places.⁴⁷ It is also thought to have been influenced by contemporary European legal thought, particularly regarding *cynghawsedd* and in the focus on royal

⁴⁴ Honorius III's letter is presumed to contain much of the text originally sent by Llywelyn requesting the change. See Chapter 2, p. 84, n. 199.

⁴⁵ AWR, p. 415.

⁴⁶ Jenkins explained the phrase thus: "In this context *prïod* [Jenkins uses Modern Welsh orthography] must imply a union recognised by the church, which does not require any particular formality or Christian ceremony." Jenkins, *The Law*, p. 265.

⁴⁷ Stacey, *Road to Judgement*, pp. 179–98, particularly pp. 193–6, ead., 'King, Queen and *Edling* in the Laws of Court' in T. M. Charles-Edwards, M. E. Owen and P. Russell, eds., *The Welsh King and his Court* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 29–62, at p. 46 and ead., 'Divorce', pp. 1125–6. Although amended at a later date, and probably after Pecham's complaints against Welsh law, this also holds true for the changes to the law texts' Prologues. See Pryce, 'Prologues', pp. 151–2 and Owen, 'Royal Propaganda', pp. 226–9. Stacey has also urged a reconsideration of Welsh law books in their entirety as reflections of contemporary concerns. See Stacey, 'Hywel', pp. 195–8.

revenues and prerogatives in the Laws of Court tractate.⁴⁸ Contemporary influence is also seen in the section of the texts concerned with the value of animals, with the prices given reflecting English market value at around c. 1200.⁴⁹ The Iorwerth text was then a thoroughly up-to-date text. There was concern about succession and inheritance, particularly of royal succession and the Queen's role at court. This is reflected by alterations to the relevant passages of the Iorwerth text.⁵⁰ The case of Dafydd's succession is Pryce's explanation for the inclusion of this passage in the first place.⁵¹ As it is presumed that the lawmen were intimately connected with the court of Gwynedd, it is not unreasonable to suggest that they would have known of Honorius's letter. Given the respect for the papacy's authority and power expressed by the learned classes in other sources, it might be considered sufficient reason to include a comparison between Welsh law and the Pope's directive. The letter's influence would explain the reference to *keureyth eglues*. In addition to the political circumstances of the text's creation, it is not beyond the realms of possibility that the passage was influenced by Honorius's letter.

If the above is accepted, this tells us a little more about the attitudes of Welsh lawyers towards the papacy. We must consider the spirit in which the passage is written. It is evident that the compiler's sympathies lie with Welsh law's protection of the rights of illegitimate sons. This passage, much like the prefaces to the lawcodes, was written to defend Welsh law and easily add it to Owen's list of examples of Welsh lawyers deploying the law texts to defend Welsh law against perceived hostile external influences and challenges.⁵² One might conclude that whatever the respect of Welsh lawyers for the papacy, and whatever references

⁴⁸ Stacey, 'Learning to Plead', p. 123, ead., 'King, Queen and *Edling*', p. 45 and ead., 'Archaic Core', p. 18.

⁴⁹ Pryce, 'Lawbooks', pp. 35–6 and the references in n. 26.

⁵⁰ Stacey, 'King, Queen and *Edling*', particularly pp. 47–55.

⁵¹ Pryce, 'Eglwys', p. 7 and above, p. 142, n. 44.

⁵² Owen, 'Royal Propaganda', p. 246. This is not to say that there were no challenges to the law from within the Welsh polities. See Pryce, 'Prologues', pp. 176–8, and above, p. 135, n. 16.

made to the papacy elsewhere in the law texts, this respect did not extend to changing Welsh traditions.

Rome and the papacy in Welsh Poetry

Poets had a particularly high standing in Welsh society. The rights and dues of two poetic offices, the *Bardd Teulu* and *Pencerdd*, are recorded in the Welsh law texts.⁵³ We also know that poets were well educated, in some cases associated with the legal profession, with certain families of poets integrated into the bureaucracy of Gwynedd in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵⁴ Andrews summarises the poets' status as being "... a professional, learned and highly respected class whose status and privileges were protected by law, the poets were at the very centre of government."⁵⁵ The poets also took advantage of the public spectacle of performing their poetry to advise the rulers whom they addressed.⁵⁶ The corpus demonstrates their familiarity with popular devotion and some current theological concepts.⁵⁷ Although known as the 'Poets of the Princes', it is evident that the poets were in frequent contact with the most prominent aristocratic families throughout the Welsh polities.⁵⁸ Their function as

⁵³ For the *Bardd Teulu* see *Llyfr Iorwerth*, 13.1–13 (p. 10), Richards, *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda*, 21 (pp. 15.30–16.8), *Llyfr Blegywryd*, pp. 22.18–23.5, *Welsh Medieval Law*, pp. 22.15–23.3 and Jenkins, *The Law*, p. 20. For the role of the *Pencerdd* see *Llyfr Iorwerth*, 40.1–40.10 (pp.21–2), *Coleg yr Iesu LVII*, 28 (17.22–18.11), *Llyfr Blegywryd*, pp. 25.13–26.10, Roberts, *Llawysgrif Pomffred*, 287 (pp.88–9), 605–612, 651 (pp.112–5), and Jenkins, *The Law*, pp. 38–9. On the differences between the two roles and their evolution see D. Jenkins, 'Bardd Teulu and Pencerdd' in T. M. Charles-Edwards, M. E. Owen, P. Russell, eds., *The Welsh King and his Court* (Cardiff, 2000), 142–66 and J. E. C. Williams, *The Poets of the Welsh Princes*, 2nd edition (Cardiff, 1994), pp. 12–13.

⁵⁴ On poets' education and training see Rh. M. Andrews, ed., *Welsh Court Poems* (Cardiff, 2007), p. xxxi and Roberts, 'Addysg Broffesiynol', pp. 7–10. Their knowledge of classical and contemporary literature is discussed in Carr, 'Inside the Tent', pp. 31–3 and in D. M. Lloyd, *Rhai Agweddau ar Ddysg y Gogynfeirdd*, G. J. Williams Memorial Lecture (Cardiff, 1977). For connections between poets and the legal profession in Gwynedd see Pryce, 'Context and Purpose', pp. 49–50 and id., 'Lawbooks', pp. 44–5. For the involvement of the poet Gwalchmai ap Meilyr and his family in the affairs of Gwynedd see Stephenson, *Political Power*, pp. 106–10.

⁵⁵ *WCP*, p. xxviii.

⁵⁶ K. Hurlock, 'Counselling the Prince: Advice and Counsel in Thirteenth-Century Welsh Society', *History* 94 (2009), 20–35.

⁵⁷ D. S. Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature* (Cardiff, 1986), pp. 8–33.

⁵⁸ *WCP*, pp. xxix–xxx. See also T. M. Charles-Edwards, and N. A. Jones, 'Breintiau Gwŷr Powys: The Liberties of the Men of Powys', in T. M. Charles-Edwards, M. E. Owen, P. Russell, eds., *The Welsh King and his Court* (Cardiff, 2000), 191–223. In addition to being called the poets of the princes, the poets are also frequently referred to by the Welsh *Gogynfeirdd* (literally "quite early poets"). For the background to this term see Williams, *Poets*, pp. 1–2.

public entertainers and propagandists also makes them a valuable source of information for Welsh aristocratic courts.⁵⁹

A total of 236 poems, being the work of 40 poets, survives from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁶⁰ In this corpus, there are eleven certain references to Rome, with a possible, metaphorical, twelfth reference and two further possible references to the office of the Pope. They generally fall into two categories. The first category acknowledges Rome as a place of authority or power, whilst in the second, the distance to Rome is used to aggrandise the poem's subject.⁶¹

Into the first category falls the earliest mention of Rome in the corpus in a poem mourning Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd (d. 1137).⁶² The poet, Meilyr Brydydd (fl. 1137–45), appeals for intercession on his patron's behalf:

“Ry gated Ruuein rec aduwynda6d,
Ny vynnei gamhwr garu neba6d.”⁶³

⁵⁹ “...the primary function of court poetry in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Wales was that of ritual entertainment. Ornate and highly formulaic, archaic and elevated diction, it undoubtedly benefited the ceremonial aspects of court life.” P. I. Lynch, ‘Court poetry, power and politics’ in T. M. Charles-Edwards, M. E. Owen, P. Russell, eds., *The Welsh King and his Court* (Cardiff, 2000), 167–90, p. 167. On the poets as propagandists see *WCP*, pp. xxviii–xvix.

⁶⁰ *WCP*, p. xxxii.

⁶¹ For an overview of Welsh panegyric poetry up to late medieval poetry see A. T. E. Matonis, ‘Traditions of Panegyric in Welsh Poetry: The Heroic and the Chivalric’, *Speculum* 53 (1978), 667–87.

⁶² Gruffudd is the only secular ruler for whom a medieval biography survives from Wales. For this see P. Russell, ed. and trans., *Vita Griffini Filii Conani* (Cardiff, 2005), D. S. Evans, ed., *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* (Cardiff, 1977) and D. S. Evans, ed. and trans., *A Medieval Prince of Wales: The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* (Felinfach, 1990). See also K. L. Maund, ed., *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, *Studies in Celtic History* 16 (Woodbridge, 1996).

⁶³ CBT 1, 3.35–6. “Let Rome grant him indulgence, / The champion did not wish to show love to anyone.” The translation is from J. E. C. Williams, ‘Meilyr Brydydd and Gruffudd ap Cynan’ in K. L. Maund, ed., *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, *Studies in Celtic History* 16 (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 165–86 at p. 183. On the second line’s wider resonance within Welsh literary tradition see Williams, *The Poets of the Welsh Princes*, p. 20. For Meilyr’s life and works see *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd a’i Ddisgynyddion*, *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion* 1, eds., J. E. C. Williams, P. I. Lynch and R. G. Gruffydd (Cardiff, 1994), pp. 49–65 and *WCP*, p. xxvi.

Meilyr, as a guardian of Gruffudd ap Cynan's posthumous reputation, portrays Gruffudd as a manly warrior who asked nobody, not even God, for mercy. More important to our purpose is the association of Rome with mercy and as a centre from which power derived. A further reference in this category derives from the work of Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr (fl.1155–95).⁶⁴ In one of three *Arwyrain* poems he sang to Owain Gwynedd, Cynddelw lists the many martial feats and encounters of his subject. A passage referring to the conflict of 1157 between Owain Gwynedd and Henry II of England (1154–1189) is of particular interest.⁶⁵ In describing the conflict Cynddelw tells us “Kyfarfu ddreigieu, rieu Ruuein”.⁶⁶ Cynddelw makes Owain Henry's equal by implying that the authority of both rulers derives from Rome.

Cynddelw again utilises the image of Rome as a centre of authority in a poem to Owain Cyfeiliog (d.1197).⁶⁷ The poet tells us that Owain Cyfeiliog was:

⁶⁴ WCP, p. xxxiii. For Cynddelw's life and works see *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr I*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 3, eds. N. A. Jones and A. P. Owen (Cardiff, 1991), pp. xxv–xlvi.

⁶⁵ The poets composed several genres of poem. The *Arwyrain* is particularly associated with the first generation of poets and may originally have been composed on the occasion of a lord's elevation to power. See *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr II*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 4, eds. N. A. Jones, and A. P. Owen (Cardiff, 1995), p. 1. For Owain Gwynedd's reign see *AoC*, pp.48–9. For his conflict with Henry II see *AoC*, pp. 51–3, CBT 4, pp. 1–4 and pp. 12–13 and J. D. Hosler, 'Henry II's Military Campaigns in Wales, 1157 and 1162', in B. S. Bachrach, C. J. Rogers and K. De Vries, eds., *Journal of Medieval Military History* 2 (2004) (Woodbridge, 2004), 53–71.

⁶⁶ CBT 4, 1.13. A literal translation would be “Dragons met, Kings of Rome”, and Clancy suggests the more poetic “He fought with dragons, rulers of Rome” (J. P. Clancy, trans., *Medieval Welsh Poems* (Dublin, 2003), p. 148). Following the editor's suggestion however a more understandable translation might be “Leaders met, Kings [whose authority derives from] Rome.” (My own translation). Andrews suggests that “rieu” is not plural here and therefore this phrase would refer to Henry II alone, as he was the son of Matilda, the former Holy Roman Empress. See Rh. M. Andrews, ‘The Nomenclature of Kingship in Welsh Court Poetry 1100–1300, Part II: The Rulers’, *SC* 44 (2011), 53–82, at p. 56.

⁶⁷ For Owain Cyfeiliog's life see *Gwaith Llywelyn Fardd I ac eraill o feirdd y ddeuddegfed ganrif*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 2, eds., K. A. Bramley, N. A. Jones, M. E. Owen, C. McKenna, G. A. Williams, and J. E. C. Williams (Cardiff, 1994), pp. 193–8, C. McKenna, ‘Performing Penance and Poetic Performance in the Medieval Welsh Court’, *Speculum* 82 (2007), 82–96, at pp. 87–9 and for Owain's period of ascent and rule in Powys, see Stephenson, *Powys*, pp. 58–74. See also Gruffydd A. Williams, ‘Welsh Raiding in the Twelfth-Century Shropshire/Cheshire March: The Case of Owain Cyfeiliog’, *SC* 40 (2006), 89–115. Along with Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, Owain Cyfeiliog is most famous for being one of the ‘prince poets’, with two compositions attributed to him surviving. For these poems see CBT 2, 15 and 16. For a translation of ‘Hirlas Owain’ see Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poems*, pp. 130–3. See also C. A. McKenna, ed. and trans., *The Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric* (Belmont, 1991), p. 55. For Hywel's poems see CBT 2, 6–13 and translations Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poems*, pp. 134–8. Doubt has been cast over the attribution of these poems to the two princes, with arguments being advanced that all the poems should be attributed to Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr. See Gruffydd A. Williams, ‘Owain Cyfeiliog: Bardd-dywysog?’, in B. F. Roberts and M. E. Owen, eds., *Beirdd a Thywysogion*

“Gelyn tra6s ryuel tros Ruuein – yd wys,

Tros y llys yn Llundain.”⁶⁸

Cynddelw uses hyperbole to praise Owain’s “authority” here. The choice of these two cities is significant as they clearly symbolised power for Cynddelw. These examples are comparable with contemporary synonyms in Welsh for rulers of a particular area. In the section on the King’s *sarhaed* (insult, or more specifically the payment due for insult or personal injury) in law texts, for instance, we find both *brenhyn Aberfrav* (King of Aberffraw) and *arglwyd Denewr* (Lord of Dinefwr). The former was synonymous with the ruler of Gwynedd and the later with the rulership of Deheubarth.⁶⁹

The second category of reference utilises the distance to Rome to aggrandize the poem’s subject. Rome is used in conjunction with the praising of resources in two of our examples. Einion ap Gwgon (fl. c. 1215) informs us that Llywelyn ap Iorwerth had the ability to fight as far away as Rome,⁷⁰ whilst Owain ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn (d. 1293) is complimented for his great wealth by Llywelyn Fardd III (fl. c. 1284).⁷¹ Rome is used in conjunction with

(Cardiff, 1996), pp. 180–201 and D. Johnston, ‘Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd a Beirdd yr Uchelwyr’ in N. A. Jones, ed., *Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd: Bardd-Dywysog* (Cardiff, 2009), pp. 134–51.

⁶⁸ CBT 3, 16.155–6. “A powerful enemy in war whose authority is recognised unto Rome / [And] over the court in London” (my own translation). The Middle Welsh *tros* is rather difficult to express in this case, as it is usually translated as “over” or “beyond”. The editor makes comparison with the work of Llywelyn Fardd I (for which see below, n. 71), suggesting that “unto” would be an acceptable translation, and I follow her suggestion here. In any case, Cynddelw aggrandises the object of his praise.

⁶⁹ See *Llyfr Iorwerth* 3.3 (p. 2), Jenkins, *The Law*, pp. 5–6, *Pomffred*, 11 (pp.70–1) and the legal triads concerned with these centres of power in S. E. Roberts, ed. and trans., *The Legal Triads of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 2007), Q243 (pp. 232–3). See also *AoC*, p. 217 and p. 253.

⁷⁰ “Hyd6f yg gnif a’e lif o lein, / Hud el yn ryuel hyd yn Ruuein”. *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras ac eraill o feirdd hanner cyntaf y drydedd ganrif ar ddeg*, Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion 6, eds., N. G. Costigan, R. G. Gruffydd, N. A. Jones, P. I. Lynch, C. McKenna, M. E. Owen and G. A. Williams (Cardiff, 1995), 18.71–2. “A strong one in battle with his [blood] flowing blade / So that he may go to war all the way to Rome” (my own translation). For Einion ap Gwgon see CBT 6, pp. 251–2. For Llywelyn ap Iorwerth’s supremacy in Gwynedd see *AoC*, pp. 236–51.

⁷¹ “Rifir y de6rll6r6, ryuel darllein– gled, / Reuued nyt ryued hyd yn Ruuein” CBT 6, 8.32. “Praise is given to his heroic progress, [his] sword declares war, / Wealth that is not strange unto Rome” (my own translation). For Owain ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn see CBT 6, pp. 114–5 and Stephenson, *Powys*, pp. 169–77. This poem was attributed in the CBT edition to Llywelyn Fardd II, however more recent research has shown that the poem

reputation in other examples. Owain Fychan (d. 1187) was known in Rome according to Llywelyn Fardd I (fl. c. 1147– c. 1176).⁷² Gwalchmai ap Meilyr (fl. 1132–80) described Rhodri ab Owain Gwynedd (d. 1195) as being feared by everybody between Gwynedd and Rome⁷³ whilst in the work of Seisyll Bryffwrch (fl. c. 1170), Iorwerth ab Owain (d. c. 1174) was mourned all the way to Rome.⁷⁴ As observed by McKenna, the collective impression of these lines is that the distance to Rome was considered an especially great one.⁷⁵ In each case, this great distance is used to emphasise the quality being praised by the poet— Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and Rhodri ab Owain’s martial qualities, the wealth of Owain ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn and the good names of Owain Fychan and Iorwerth ab Owain.

Thus far we have seen the poets viewing Rome as a centre of authority which was particularly far away. Aside from the appeal for Gruffudd ap Cynan’s soul, Rome appears as a strictly temporal centre of power, lacking any sacred dimension. We might conclude then that the Rome of which the poets were thinking was mainly the ancient world’s Rome rather than that of the papacy. There are however four further possible references to Rome in a spiritual context, and all are linked to pilgrimage. Given the surviving corpus, it is little wonder that one example appears in the work of Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr, when he sings

is better attributed to a third poet also named Llywelyn who flourished in the final quarter of the thirteenth century. See N. A. Jones, ‘Llywelyn Fardd, I, II, III?’, *Llên Cymru* 29 (2006), 1–12.

⁷² “Ny hepkoraf y r6yf, hyt Ruuein – y g6ys” CBT 2, 3.5. “I have not given a lord the best, he is known as far away as Rome.” (my own translation). On the death of Madog ap Maredudd of Powys in 1160, Owain Fychan, along with his cousin Owain Cyfeiliog, was one of the five co-heirs of Powys. For more on Owain Fychan’s career see CBT 2, p. 45 and CBT 3, p. 154, and for the situation in Powys see Stephenson, *Powys*, pp. 58–60 and J. B. Smith ‘Dynastic Succession in Medieval Wales’, *BBCS* 33 (1986), 199–232, pp. 210–12. I again follow Jones’s revised dates for the poet’s life. See above, p. 147, n. 71.

⁷³ “Dy orofyn ar ba6b hyd barth Ruuein” CBT 1 11.69. “Fear [of you] is upon everybody from here to the area of Rome.” (my own translation). For Rhodri ab Owain’s career see CBT 1, p. 237 and Chapter 2, p. 82, n. 191 and p. 83, n. 196. For Gwalchmai’s career see Rh. M. Andrews, ‘Golwg ar Yrfa Gwalchmai’, *Llên Cymru* 27 (2004), 30–47 and *WCP*, pp. xxxiv–xxxv.

⁷⁴ “Ar ol erbylu cyrdd, nid coelfrain – ei ddwyn / Oddyman hyd Rufain / Can ys marw ior cor cywrain.” CBT 2 23.9–11. “After poets separate, it is not good news to bring this/ from here to Rome / For the lord of a skilful force is dead” (my own translation). Iorwerth ab Owain was the father of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. For Seisyll Bryffwrch see CBT 2, pp. 371–4.

⁷⁵ CBT 6, p. 123.

the praises of St. Tysilio and the church associated with him at Meifod, Montgomeryshire. The poem is thought to have been composed in the period 1155–60 and certainly no later than 1170 by Owen.⁷⁶ Owen and McKenna speculate that Cynddelw composed this poem in response to Meifod's hospitality to him and at the abbot's commission.⁷⁷ One should also consider the suggestion of Jones and Owen, supported by Stephenson, that part of Cynddelw's motivation for composing the poem was as a response to the dynastic struggle within Powys during the 1160s and the need for the now dominant Owain Gwynedd to protect Meifod.⁷⁸ The site was closely associated with the ruling dynasty of Powys at the time of the poem's composition. Madog ap Maredudd rebuilt the church at Meifod in the 1150s, rededicating it to the Virgin Mary in 1156, and was buried in Meifod in 1160 according to all versions of *Brut y Tywysogyon*.⁷⁹ It is worth quoting Cynddelw's poem at length to appreciate his rhetorical flourish:

“Berth Veiut, ovirein loga6t

Lloc ua6reith am uedueith uedra6t

Tremynt tec y'm trewyn beida6t

A weles ny welir hyt ura6t

Caer Rufein, ryued olyga6t

Caer uchel, uchaf y defa6t

Kaer ehang, ehofyn y chi6tawt

Ny chyfret y phobyl a phecha6t

⁷⁶ A. P. Owen, ‘Canu Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr i Dysilio Sant’, in J. E. C. Williams, ed., *Ysgrifau Beirniadol XVIII* (Denbigh, 1992), pp. 73–99 at pp. 84–5.

⁷⁷ CBT 3, pp. 16–17 and *MWRL*, p. 31.

⁷⁸ N. A. Jones and M. E. Owen, ‘Twelfth-century Welsh hagiography: the Gogynfeirdd poems to saints’ in J. Cartwright, ed., *Celtic Hagiography and Saints’ Cults* (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 45–76, at pp. 60–1 and Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, pp. 66–7.

⁷⁹ *Brut (RBH)* 1156 (pp. 132–5), *Brut (Pen. 20)*, (p. 102, 1156 (p. 59), *BS* 1156 (pp. 158–9), *Brut (RBH)* 1160 (pp. 140–1), *Brut (Pen. 20)*, (p. 107, 1160 (p. 61), *BS* 1160 (pp. 162–3), Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, p. 54 and Owen, ‘Canu’, p. 94.

Caer arheul, kaer didreul didra6t

Kaer bellglaer o bellglot ada6t

Kaer barchus barhaus bara6t

A berit y bererinda6t”⁸⁰

Cynddelw’s poem demonstrates his high regard for Meifod, a place with a reputation for high standards. It is famous for its welcome and it was purpose-built for pilgrims. Owen links the comparison to Rome with an incident in a seventeenth-century Breton life of St. Suliau by Albert le Grand whose source material is believed to have been based on a medieval Welsh life of St. Tysilio.⁸¹ Le Grand describes how Tysilio wished to spare Gwyddfarch, the elderly Abbot of Meifod, an arduous pilgrimage to Rome. Tysilio prayed to God and the following day Gwyddfarch was granted a vision of Rome’s wonders in the fields surrounding Meifod. As Cynddelw draws heavily on what was a well-known story, Owen’s suggestion of Cynddelw’s passage being inspired by this incident has some merit. His purpose, after all, was to retell the story of Tysilio and to praise Meifod. The recent suggestion by Thurlby and Stephenson that the vision of Rome in Cynddelw’s poetry was included in order to demonstrate Meifod’s lack of need for Anglo-Norman driven reform seems unnecessary; it is surely better understood as a direct comparison between two high status ecclesiastical sites.⁸² For Cynddelw, Meifod is a second Rome.

⁸⁰ CBT 3, 3.159–170. “Beautiful Meifod, extremely splendid monastery / A great and ample church upon the graveyard of noblemen / A fair scene for my adventurous, ardent man / The which he saw will not be seen until Judgement Day / Fort of Rome, a marvellous scene, / Exalted fort, of the highest [standard] are its rites / Expansive fort, dauntless are its inhabitants / Its people do not pursue sin / Bright fort, solid, steadfast fort / Fort of widespread fame, a fort shining from afar / An honourable fort, constantly ready [in welcome] / Which was created for pilgrimage.” (My own translation). The repetition of the phrase *kaer* at the beginning of each line is an example of a device known as *cymeriad*. For this technique, see A. P. Owen, ‘Cymeriad yn awdlau Beirdd y Tywysogion’, *Dwned* 4 (1998), 33–58, and *MWRL*, pp. 9–10, pp. 68–9 and pp. 82–3.

⁸¹ Owen, ‘Canu’, p. 88 and p. 89.

⁸² Stephenson, *Medieval Powys*, pp. 54–5 and M. Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Logaston, 2006), pp. 248–9.

A second example occurs in a devotional poem to St. David by Gwynfardd Brycheiniog (fl. c. 1170–9).⁸³ The poet tells the story of David’s life, discussing his achievements and missionary work.⁸⁴ We are told:

“Ef kymerth yr Duw dioteifyeint - yn dec

Ar don a charrec, a chad6 y vreint

A chyrchu Ru6ein, rann gyreifyeint

A gwest yn Efrei, g6st diamreint.”⁸⁵

Gwynfardd praises his subject’s virtues. David was loyal to God and suffered for it. That David is said to have travelled to Rome and the Holy Land is exceptional and worth mentioning. It is also worth noting the description of Rome as a *rann gyreifyeint*, a place of absolution, for the poet. This gives us an inkling of the way in which Rome was considered important by Gwynfardd. Catherine McKenna draws attention to the large number of churches associated with David throughout Wales that are noted in the poem.⁸⁶ She links mentioning these churches with the argument advanced by Gerald of Wales for the independence of St Davids from Canterbury’s jurisdiction. Her argument rests on the poem being likely to have been composed c. 1175, and she claims that is at the same time as Gerald began pursuing his cause. In this she errs as Gerald appears to have paid little heed to the argument in favour of St Davids’ independence from Canterbury until the time of his attempt to have his election as Bishop of St Davids recognised almost a quarter of a century after the

⁸³ Gwynfardd Brycheiniog is unique in the surviving corpus as he is the only poet known to originate from south-east Wales. See CBT 2, pp. 417–22.

⁸⁴ Jones and Owen, ‘Twelfth-century Welsh hagiography’, pp. 53–4.

⁸⁵ CBT 2, 26.19–24. “He received, for God, suffering - faithfully/ On wave and rock. and kept his privilege/ And travelling to Rome, a place of absolution/ And dwelling in Canaan, a great effort”. (My own translation).

⁸⁶ *MWRL*, p. 30.

poem's composition.⁸⁷ The poem does, however, point to a popular tradition of David's popularity as being Wales-wide.

A further reference to Rome occurs in a poem recorded in the Black Book of Carmarthen, a manuscript dating from the mid-thirteenth century and almost certainly the earliest extant manuscript of Welsh poetry to survive.⁸⁸ Huws describes the manuscript's contents as being an "original retrospective of Welsh poetry", with the manuscript containing poems on religious themes, secular panegyric, poems associated with the Myrddin legend and other mythological material.⁸⁹ The religious poems in the manuscript appear to be the work of a monastic author.⁹⁰ Our poem takes the form of a *lorica*, a charm poem.⁹¹ It opens with an early morning appeal to the Cross of Christ for protection and over several stanzas it becomes obvious that the speaker is about to embark on a journey to Rome:

⁸⁷ See Chapter 1, pp. 20–47.

⁸⁸ For this manuscript and its history see *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, ed. A. O. H. Jarman with E. D. Jones (Cardiff, 1982), pp. xiii–xxiv, A. O. H. Jarman, 'Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin The Black Book of Carmarthen', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 71 (1985), 333–56, at pp. 333–7, and D. Huws, 'Five Ancient Books of Wales', H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lecture, University of Cambridge 1995 (Cambridge, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, 1996), reprinted in and referenced from D. Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 65–83, at pp. 70–72 and see also M. Williams, 'The Black Book of Carmarthen: Minding the Gaps', *NLWJ* 36 (2014–17), 357–410.

⁸⁹ D. Huws, 'The medieval manuscript', in P. H. Jones and E. Rees, eds., *A Nation and its Books: A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth, 1998), pp. 25–39, reprinted in and referenced from D. Huws, 'The medieval manuscript in Wales', *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 1–19, at p. 19 and Jarman, 'The Black Book of Carmarthen', pp. 337–8.

⁹⁰ *MWRL*, pp. 74–6 and pp. 77–8.

⁹¹ The poem is most easily accessed in J. Rowland, ed. and trans., *Early Welsh Saga Poetry: A Study and Edition of the Englynion* (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 452–3 and pp. 499–500. See also *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, 26 (pp. 56–7) and M. Haycock, ed., *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* (Llandybie, 1994), 26 (pp. 274–7). An alternative translation is found in Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poems*, pp. 109–10. The identification of this poem as a *Lorica* was first made in H. Lewis, T. Roberts and I. Williams, *Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill*, p. 354 and subsequently expanded upon by B. F. Roberts, 'Rhai Swynion Cymreig', *BBCS* 21 (1964–66), 198–213, at p. 203, Jarman, 'The Black Book of Carmarthen', pp. 339–40, Rowland, *Saga Poetry*, p. 226 and pp. 628–9 and Haycock, *Blodeugerdd*, pp. 23–5 and p. 272.

“Drcheuid bran y hadein.

arowun myned ruvein.

etil butic bytaud kein.”⁹²

After further appeals to God, Christ, Peter and St. Bridget, the poet expresses hope for attaining atonement through pilgrimage.⁹³ The expiation of sins was emphasised by Henry, who also draws attention to the poem’s ability to bring the pilgrim experience to life.⁹⁴ This is an important piece of evidence for the idea of penitential pilgrimage in Wales.⁹⁵ There are only a further three possible references to pilgrimage in the poetic corpus. The first is an ode praising God by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr in which the poet expresses his willingness to go on pilgrimage to reduce the burden of his sins.⁹⁶ The second reference occurs in a poem in praise of God by Einion ap Gwlachmai (fl. 1176–1223), the aforementioned poet’s son. Einion expresses a wish to withstand the pain of crossing the Alps so that he may visit the Holy Land.⁹⁷ The final reference occurs in an anonymous, incomplete poem, in which the poet gives the impression of having visited several sites in the Holy Land. Andrews has argued convincingly that this poem is likely to be the work of Einion ap Gwalchmai. If she is correct, it seems possible that Einion’s wish was granted.⁹⁸ The evidence with which we may compare the Black Book of Carmarthen’s poem is very limited. Rome is again portrayed as a

⁹²“A raven raises its wing / desiring to go to Rome. / A beneficial purpose; all will be fine.” Rowland, *Saga Poetry*, p. 453 and p. 500. The raven in the poem may represent a cleric or monk. See Rowland, *Saga Poetry*, p. 227 and Haycock, *Blodeugerdd*, p. 273.

⁹³ Stanzas 12 and 13, *Saga Poetry*, p. 453 and p. 500.

⁹⁴ P. L. Henry, *The Early English and Celtic Lyric* (London, 1966), pp. 87–8.

⁹⁵ On pilgrimage see Chapter 1, p. 48, n. 245 and Chapter 3, pp. 103–4 and pp. 109–11.

⁹⁶ CBT 1, 14.83–6, *MWRL*, 2.83–6 and Andrews, ‘Golwg’, pp. 42–3.

⁹⁷ CBT 1, 27.39–40 and *MWRL*, 10.39–40. Both J. E. C. Williams (the poem’s editor) and McKenna follow Lewis and Williams in the interpretation of these lines and the term ‘Mynyt Mynnheu’ being equated with the Alps. See H. Lewis, ed., *Hen Gerddi Crefyddol* (Cardiff, 1974), p. 214 and I. Williams, ‘Mynydd Mynnau’, *BBCS* 17 (1956–58), 96–8. See also *MWRL*, p.119.

⁹⁸ Rh. M. Andrews, ‘Ar Drywydd Pererin: *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras*, Cerdd 36’, *Llên Cymru* 32 (2009), 1–32, where the poem is edited at pp. 28–30 and the notes accompanying the edition in CBT 6, 36 (some of which are superseded by Andrews’s article).

place where absolution might be achieved but, in this instance, it is explicitly stated that this is to be achieved through penitential pilgrimage.

The final possible reference to Rome occurs in *Marwysgafn Meilyr Brydydd*.⁹⁹ Throughout the poem Meilyr demonstrates what Hughes termed “a recognition of the Petrine powers.”¹⁰⁰ His emphasis is on forgiveness of his sins in preparation for his resurrection. In addition to Peter, Meilyr invokes Mary and expresses his wish to be buried on Bardsey Island, the reputed burial place of twenty thousand Saints.¹⁰¹ Meilyr describes himself in the poem as *beryrein y Bedyr*, a pilgrim to Peter.¹⁰² One might legitimately interpret this as a reference to Meilyr having travelled to Rome, or desiring to travel to Rome, but this interpretation fails to take account of the poem’s genre. It is a *marwysgafn*, a poem associated with death and the Last Things, so it is perhaps more readily understood as Meilyr describing himself as a pilgrim on the way to the afterlife to meet St. Peter as the keeper of the keys to the kingdom of Heaven.¹⁰³ This interpretation of Meilyr’s words fits well with other references to St. Peter in the corpus, which either ask Peter for intercession or associate him with being the gatekeeper of heaven.¹⁰⁴ The latter grouping is intriguing, as it allows Peter to be interpreted

⁹⁹ CBT 1, 4. For a translation see *MWRL*, 1 or Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poems*, p. 123. Edition and translation are more conveniently accessed in N. A. Jones, ‘*Marwysgafyn Veilyr Brydyt: Deathbed Poem?*’, *CMCS* 47 (Summer, 2004), 17–39, at pp. 18–20.

¹⁰⁰ K. Hughes, ‘The Celtic Church and the Papacy’ in C. H. Lawrence, ed., *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, (Stroud, 1999), pp. 1–28 at p. 28.

¹⁰¹ This tradition remains in the popular imagination, but appears to be recorded for the first time in the Book of Llandaff in the Life of St. Elgar. See ‘The Life of St. Elgar of Ynys Enlli’, ed. and trans. K. Jankulak, and J. M. Wooding in J. M. Wooding, ed., *Solitaries, Pastors and 20,000 Saints: Studies in the Religious History of Bardsey Island (Ynys Enlli)*, *Trivium* 39 (2010), 15–47 at p. 4. An edition and translation of the text is found at *ibid.*, pp. 39–47. See also *MWRL*, pp. 119–20 and N. G. Costigan, *Defining the Divinity: Medieval perceptions in Welsh Court Poetry* (Aberystwyth, 2002), pp. 106–7.

¹⁰² CBT 1, 4.25.

¹⁰³ *WCP*, p. 141. It has been usual to translate this term as meaning a “deathbed poem”, but recent work has cast doubt on the validity of this usage. See Jones, ‘*Marwysgafyn*’, pp. 21–2 and pp. 32–6 and *MWRL*, pp. 61–6.

¹⁰⁴ These are CBT 1, 2.20, 22.18, 26.56, 27.88, 33.94, CBT 2 1.26, *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn ‘Prydydd y Moch’*, *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion* 5, eds. E. M. Jones, N. A. Jones (Cardiff, 1991), 1.173, 15.9, 21.19, CBT 6, 10.23, 31.68 and *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd a beirdd eraill ail hanner y drydedd ganrif ar ddeg*, *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion* 7, eds., Rh. M. Andrews, N. G. Costigan, C. James, P. I. Lynch, C. McKenna, M. E., Owen, and B. F. Roberts, (Cardiff, 1996), 39.13.

by the poets in terms of the Welsh royal household's *Drysor* (Doorkeeper).¹⁰⁵ No poetic reference links Peter directly with Rome.

There are two other possible references to the office of the Pope in the corpus. The earliest occurs in a poem in praise of God by Meilyr ap Gwalchmai.¹⁰⁶ In a section listing the characteristics of God, the poet refers to God as *Ef 6w'r Pap pennaf*.¹⁰⁷ The second occurs in a poem on the birth of Christ by the Franciscan friar Madog ap Gwallter (fl. c. 1250).¹⁰⁸ The poem concludes with the following lines:

"Bendegedic	y6'r Nadolic,	deil6g wledeu,
Pan anet Mab,	Arglwyd pob pab,	pobeth biev
O argl6ydes	a wna yn lles	a'n llud poeneu,
Ac a'n g6na lle	yn tecca bre,	yg gobr6yeu" ¹⁰⁹

The key word in both examples is *pap* or *pab*. *Pab* is the Welsh for Pope, so it is reasonable to translate these examples as "He is the chief Pope" and "Lord of every Pope."¹¹⁰ This might lead us to conclude that both poets thought that Popes should remember their place in the

¹⁰⁵ *MWRL*, pp. 126–7.

¹⁰⁶ For the life and work of Meilyr ap Gwalchmai, see CBT 1, pp. 507–9 and *WCP*, p. xxxvi. Doubt has been cast on the accuracy of attributing any work to a poet of this name. See N. A. Jones, 'Meilyr ap Gwalchmai-Rhithfardd!', *Dwned* 9 (2003), 23–36.

¹⁰⁷ CBT 1, 32.20. "He is the Highest Father." Costigan, *Defining*, 14.20.

¹⁰⁸ The poem is analysed and placed in the context of other meditative poems in *MWRL*, pp. 46–51 and see also Costigan, *Defining*, pp. 101–2. It is generally accepted by scholars that Madog may be equated with the author of a manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regnum Britanniae* known as 'Frater Walensis Madocus Edeirniensis'. On the life and work of Madog ap Gwallter see CBT 7, pp. 347–52, *WCP*, pp. xxxv–xxvi, Rh. Andrews, 'Bardd o Grefyddwr, Madog ap Gwallter', *Y Cylchgrawn Catholig* 3 (1994), pp. 16–19 and *Y Cylchgrawn Catholig* 4 (1995), pp. 6–10, Gruffydd A. Williams, 'The Literary Tradition to c. 1560' in J. B. Smith and Ll. B. Smith, eds., *History of Merioneth II: The Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 507–628, at pp. 532–6.

¹⁰⁹ CBT 7, 32.61–4. "A blessed time is the Nativity, Fit time for feasts, / When the son was born, Lord of every priest, of all things Master, / Born of a lady who will do us good And Prevent our pains, / And make room for us on the fairest height as our reward." Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poems*, p. 168.

¹¹⁰ McKenna prefers this interpretation in the case of Madog ap Gwallter's poem. *MWRL*, p. 48.

hierarchy but contemporaneous usage of *pab* suggests that it is translated more simply as “father” or “priest”. Each contemporaneous reference to *Pab* meaning Pope recorded by *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* is associated with Rome in some way.¹¹¹ These are the interpretations of the word used by the poems’ most recent editors and although not quite as interesting, they are very probably more accurate.

An examination of twelfth- and thirteenth-century poetry does not provide much illumination of the attitudes of Welsh poets to Rome. There are so few references that one cannot trace any development of attitude amongst the poets over time. Perhaps this should not surprise us as the Welsh poets were preoccupied with the domestic politics of their time and are far more likely to have asked a saint for intercession on their behalf rather than appealing to the Pope. The subject matter of their poetry, praising God or praising or mourning a secular nobleman, also limits the opportunities to mention Rome. One might further consider that there are exceptionally few references to places beyond the British Isles, and that other than Rome, only two other “overseas” places are mentioned in the corpus. Bethlehem and Jerusalem are mentioned in passing by Madog ap Gwallter in his poem on the birth of Christ, whilst the shock felt by Elidir Sais (fl. 1246) at the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin is mentioned only to express the poet’s greater shock at the imprisonment of Dafydd ab Owain Gwynedd by his nephew Llywelyn ap Iorwerth.¹¹² This said, it is possible to venture a few tentative conclusions. The collective impression from the corpus is that the poets knew Rome was a long way from the polities in which they performed and knew that it was a centre of great power and a place suitable for pilgrimage.

¹¹¹ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, eds. R. J. Thomas et al., 4 vols. (Cardiff, 1950–2002), p. 2662. Andrews follows this line of argument in her Modern Welsh translation of this poem in Andrews, ‘Bardd o Grefyddwr, Madog ap Gwallter’, *Y Cylchgrawn Catholig* 3 (1994), p. 17.

¹¹² CBT 7, 32.39. and CBT 1, 16.19–16.28. For the life and work of Elidir Sais’ see CBT 1, pp. 317–325 and Andrews, *WCP*, pp. xxxiv.

Rome and the papacy in Welsh Hagiography

The primary purpose of any saint's *life* is "to promote and augment the cult" of that particular saint.¹¹³ They are in essence advertisements for the cult's mother church and the benefits that saints might bring to devotees and benefactors.¹¹⁴ In addition to their devotional purposes, lives might be used to protect the "rights, immunities, privileges and estates" claimed by a church.¹¹⁵ In other words, they are far more likely to reflect the concerns and needs of their high medieval authors than they are to give a genuine account of an early medieval saint.¹¹⁶ It is of primary importance to keep this in mind when considering references to Rome and the papacy in the Welsh saints' lives. The texts under consideration are the saints' lives found in British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A. xiv, the life of St. Gwenffrewi from British Library, Cotton Claudius A. v, the Middle Welsh Life of Beuno from Oxford, Jesus College MS. 119 and the saints' lives contained in the Book of Llandaff.¹¹⁷ All of the saints' lives in these manuscripts either date from before the end of the thirteenth century or are very likely to be derived from texts dating to this period.

¹¹³ J. R. Davies, 'Some observations on the 'Nero, 'Digby and 'Vespasian' recensions of *Vita S. David*', in J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, eds., *St. David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, Studies in Celtic History 24 (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 156–60, p. 159.

¹¹⁴ On the idea of saints as patrons, see the superb summary of scholarship in B. Lewis, ed. and trans., *Medieval Welsh Poems to Saints and Shrines*, Medieval and Modern Welsh Series (Dublin, 2015), pp. 2–3. On the economic importance of saints' cults to ecclesiastical establishments see *ibid.*, p. 7.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8. On property claims in Welsh saints' lives see W. Davies, 'Property rights and property claims in Welsh *Vitae* of the eleventh century' in E. Patlagean and P. Riché, eds., *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés: IVe–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1981), pp. 515–33, Davies, 'Saints', pp. 365–8, E. R. Henken, 'Welsh hagiography and the nationalist impulse' in J. Cartwright, ed., *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults* (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 26–44, at p. 30.

¹¹⁶ Lewis, *Medieval Welsh Poems*, pp. 10–12. On the development of saints' cults in Wales see A. Thacker, 'Loca Sanctorum: The Significance of Place in the Study of the Saints', in A. Thacker and R. Sharpe, ed., *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 1–45, at pp. 33–4.

¹¹⁷ A. W. Wade-Evans, ed. and trans., S. Lloyd, rev. ed., *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, Studies in Medieval Wales 1 (Cardiff, 2013), Rhygyfarch ap Sulien, 'Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St David', ed. and trans. R. Sharpe and J. R. Davies in J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, eds., *St. David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, Studies in Celtic History 24 (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 107–55, Joshua B. Smith, 'Benedict of Gloucester's *Vita Sancti Dubricii*: An Edition and Translation' in E. Archibald and D. F. Johnson, eds., *Arthurian Literature* 29 (2012), 53–100 and J. G. Evans, and J. Rhys, eds., *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv reproduced from the text of the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Oxford, 1893; rev. imp Aberystwyth, 1979).

There is some evidence to suggest that hagiography may have been composed in Wales in the ninth century, but there is no complete life from before the end of the eleventh century.¹¹⁸

The most prominent collection of Welsh saints' lives is to be found in British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A. xiv.¹¹⁹ In an important study of the manuscript, Kathleen Hughes agreed with Robin Flower in declaring that the manuscript was written c. 1200 and discerned evidence suggesting that the saints' lives were composed earlier than the manuscript itself, during the twelfth century.¹²⁰ She also discusses evidence linking the manuscript's compilation to St. Peter's Abbey Gloucester, as opposed to Flower's suggestion that it was a product of Brecon Abbey.¹²¹ Also highlighted are the links between St. Peter's Abbey and both Llandaff and the church of Llanbadarn Fawr.¹²² She concludes by suggesting that the final production stages were in an anglicised scriptorium open to Welsh influence, concurring with Harris that the monks of Monmouth seem likely candidates.¹²³ These conclusions about the manuscript have been endorsed by Lewis's recent reconsideration.¹²⁴ The motivation for compiling the manuscript may have been to record the deeds of Welsh saints so that they could be introduced to a non-Welsh audience.¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ Lewis, *Medieval Welsh Poems*, pp. 10–16, Davies, 'Property rights', pp. 517–18, Davies, *Book*, p. 76 (particularly n. 1), id., 'Saints of South Wales', pp. 380–4 and B. Guy, 'The *Life* of St Dyfrig and the Lost Charters of Moccas (Mochros), Herefordshire', *CMCS* 75 (Summer, 2018), 1–37, at pp. 5–19.

¹¹⁹ For a description of the manuscript by Robin Flower, see *VSBG*, pp. x–xiii.

¹²⁰ K. Hughes, 'British Library MS. Cotton Vespasian A. XIV (*Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium*): its purpose and provenance', in N. K. Chadwick, ed., *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 183–200, reprinted in and cited from her *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Scottish and Welsh Sources*, *Studies in Celtic History* 2, ed. D. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1980), pp. 53–66 at p. 53, pp. 60–1 and p. 64.

¹²¹ Ibid., pp. 58–60 and Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum*, pp. ix–x.

¹²² Following Hughes and concentrating primarily on the *Vitae S. Carantoci*, Jankulak argues that the "West Wales" group of saints' lives in the manuscript were composed in Llanbadarn. K. Jankulak, 'Carantoc *alias* Cairnech?: British saints, Irish saints, and the Irish in Wales' in K. Jankulak and J. M. Wooding, eds., *Ireland and Wales in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 116–48, at pp. 135–6.

¹²³ Hughes, 'British Library', pp. 64–5. The case for a connection with Monmouth is made in S. M. Harris, 'The Kalendar of the *Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium*', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 3 (1953), 3–53, at pp. 6–20.

¹²⁴ B. J. Lewis, 'A Possible Provenance for the Old Cornish Vocabulary', *CMCS* 73 (Summer, 2017), 1–17, pp. 3–7.

¹²⁵ Hughes, 'British Library', p. 66.

The dating of three other texts deserves attention: Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St. David, the *Vita S. Wenfrede* and the Middle Welsh *Life* of Beuno. Davies building on Sharpe's study of the different manuscript versions of the text and using the "chronological indicators" of the apparent lament for Bishop Sulien, the linking of David with the dynasty of Ceredigion and that the text shows no sign of the "anti-Norman sentiments" of Rhygyfarch's *Planctus*, convincingly suggests a date of 1091x1093 for the text's original composition.¹²⁶ Wade-Evans included the text of *Vita S. Wenfrede* from British Library, Cotton Claudius A. v in his edition.¹²⁷ The manuscript may have been compiled at Worcester in the early thirteenth century, but the text is thought to have arrived at Worcester from North Wales.¹²⁸ The Middle Welsh *Life* of Beuno's manuscript dates from 1346, but is thought to be based on an earlier Latin life. The lost *Life* must have been extant in the twelfth century, as Robert of Shrewsbury appears to have used it as a source for his *Vita et translatio S. Wenefrede*.¹²⁹

The lives in the Book of Llandaff formed part of Bishop Urban's campaign to extend the boundaries of his diocese.¹³⁰ They were included in his dossier of evidence either to show that Llandaff had a claim over the lands of a particular church or that it laid claim to the relics

¹²⁶ The first would indicate a date of after 1091, the latter two a date of prior to 1093. Davies, 'Some observations', pp. 159–60 and id., 'Saints of South Wales', pp. 389–90. See also R. Sharpe, 'Which text is Rhygyfarch's 'Life' of St. David' in J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, eds., *St. David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, Studies in Celtic History 24 (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 90–105.

¹²⁷ See the description by Flower in *VSBG*, pp. xviii–xix.

¹²⁸ F. Winward, 'The Lives of St Wenefred (BHL 8841–8851)', *Analecta Bollandiana* 117 (1999), 89–132, at pp. 90–1. Winward is sceptical of Welsh authorship of this text, preferring to attribute its genesis to an extraction of part of a lost Latin *Life* of St. Beuno, in which Gwenffrewi was a subsidiary character, by the monks of Basingwerk Abbey which she, quoting David Williams, describes as "in Wales, but not "of it"". See *ibid.*, pp. 118–25. Gwenffrewi is the sole Welsh female saint to have had a *vita* written about her. The next early life of a Welsh female saint is that of Melangell, which seems likely to date from the fifteenth century, though based on some earlier material. For the life of Melangell see H. Pryce, 'A new edition of the *Historia Divae Monacellae*', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 82 (1994), 23–40.

¹²⁹ *VSBG*, p. xxi and Winward, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 119–21.

¹³⁰ An overview of the lives is given in Davies, *Book*, pp. 109–10. Davies elsewhere explains the importance of promoting the cults of three of these saints to Llandaff: "the shrine of Dyfrig provided a powerful connexion to the founding patriarch of the British episcopate; the relics of Teilo secured Llandaff within the episcopal heritage of the southern Welsh; the teeth of Ælfgar, the Hermit of Bardsey, tied the new cathedral into what must have been a popular contemporary cult". Id., 'Cathedrals and the Cult of Saints in Eleventh- and Twelfth-century Wales' in P. Dalton, C. Insley, and L. J. Wilkinson, eds., *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*. Studies in the History of Medieval Religion (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 99–115, at p. 108.

of an individual saint.¹³¹ The authors of these saints' lives show familiarity with some material contained in the Vespasian manuscript and seem to derive from a common source.¹³² Given the likely date of compilation for the manuscript, as established by John Reuben Davies, all the texts in the manuscript must date from the early twelfth century and from no later than 1134.¹³³

Most of the saints' lives follow a similar structure. Studying the Welsh saints' lives from a folklorist's point of view, E. R. Henken declared that "the saints of Welsh tradition led patterned lives".¹³⁴ Comparing the saints' lives with some native Welsh tales, she declares that each saint is portrayed as a "Christianized folk hero."¹³⁵ She identifies a general pattern which occurs in the lives, noting that the major stages of a saint's life appear to be 1. Conception and birth, 2. Childhood, 3. Performing a miracle which indicates maturity 4. Going out into the world, 5. Conflict with secular powers, 6. Ruling a territory and 7. Death.¹³⁶

The texts under discussion abound in examples of the stages Henken describes. St. Illtud's ancestors, for instance, are described as *illustris genere*, whilst St. Beuno and St. Samson of Dol are born to noble parents who have had trouble conceiving.¹³⁷ St. David has one of the more remarkable births. It is prophesied by an angel to his father, God commands St. Patrick

¹³¹ On claims to property in the saints' lives of the Book of Llandaff see Davies, *Book*, pp. 76–97.

¹³² Ibid., pp. 114–15, id., 'The cult of saints in the early Welsh March: aspects of cultural transmission in a time of political conflict' in S. Duffy and S. Foran, eds., *The English Isles: cultural transmission and political conflict in Britain and Ireland, 1100-1500* (Dublin, 2013), 37–55, at pp. 50–1 and Hughes, 'British Library', pp. 61–4.

¹³³ J. R. Davies, 'Liber Landavensis: Its Date and the Identity of its Editor', *CMCS* 35 (Summer, 1998), 1–12.

¹³⁴ E. R. Henken, *The Welsh Saints: A Study in Patterned Lives* (Woodbridge, 1991), p. 1.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 1.

¹³⁶ Ibid., *Welsh Saints*, p. 2.

¹³⁷ 'Vita Sancti Illuti', §1 (*VSBG*, pp. 194–5), 'Hystoria o Uched Beuno', §1 and §2 (*VSBG*, p. 16 and p. 337) and 'Vita S. Samsonis', *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 6–7. The translation of the Life of Beuno used by Lloyd in his revised edition of Wade-Evans's work was originally published as A. W. Wade-Evans, 'Beuno Sant', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 85 (1930), 315–41.

to move away from the future site of David's monastery and Gildas cannot preach because of the presence of the pregnant Non (David's mother) in the room.¹³⁸ The childhood and education each Saint receives performs a similar function. St. Tatheus is portrayed as a model student and both St. Gwenffrewi (St. Wenefred) and St. Teilo are noted for their devotion to God from an early age.¹³⁹ These events are used to establish their "peculiar and special position in society" and denote their future greatness.¹⁴⁰

To denote a Saint's maturity, a miracle might take place. In Lifris's *Life* of St. Cadog, the saint performs a quite spectacular miracle.¹⁴¹ A servant had refused to give Cadog assistance in lighting a fire, unless Cadog could carry the burning coals in his cloak. Not only does Cadog perform this task without damaging his cloak, the servant is found to have been burned alive.¹⁴² Meuthius, Cadog's teacher, interprets this as a sign that he cannot teach

¹³⁸ 'Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St. David', § 2 (pp.108–11), § 3 (pp.110–13) and § 5 (pp.112–15).

¹³⁹ 'Vita Sancti Tathei', §1 (*VSBG*, pp. 270–1), 'Vita Sancte Wenefrede', §3 (*VSBG*, pp. 288–9) and 'Vita S. Teliaui', *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 97. On the life of St. Tatheus see Knight, 'St. Tatheus', pp. 29–33. The education portrayed in Welsh saints' lives is briefly discussed in N. Orme, 'Education in Medieval Wales', *WHR* 27 (2014–15), 607–44, at pp. 611–12. An alternative translation of this life of Gwenffrewi, along with a translation of a life of Gwenffrewi written by Robert Pennant, Prior of Shrewsbury, is found in R. Pepin, and H. Feiss, with C. Hamaker, trans., *Two Mediaeval Lives of Saint Winefred*, Peregrina Translation Series (Toronto, 2000). On the intended audiences of both lives see Davies, 'Cult of saints', pp. 49–50. For the translation of Gwenffrewi's bones from Holywell to Shrewsbury see B. Golding, 'Piety, Politics and Plunder across the Anglo-Welsh Frontier: Acquiring the Relics of Winifred and Beuno', in E. Jamrozik and K. Stöber, eds., *Monasteries on the Borders of Medieval Europe: Conflict and Interaction*, Medieval Church Studies 28 (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 19–48, pp. 19–35 and R. Bartlett, 'Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh saints in twelfth-century England' in B. Smith, ed., *Britain and Ireland 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 67–86, at pp. 79–80.

¹⁴⁰ Henken, *Welsh Saints*, p. 23 and ead., 'The Saint as Folk Hero: Biographical Patterning in Welsh Hagiography', in P. K. Ford, ed., *Celtic Folklore and Christianity* (Santa Barbara, 1983), pp. 58–74, at p. 64.

¹⁴¹ Lifris was the son of Herewald (Bishop of Llandaff, 1059–1104). For this family of ecclesiastics see J. C. Davies, ed., *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066–1272*, 2 vols. (Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1946–48), ii, pp. 506–19.

¹⁴² This incident is one of many that appear to justify Gerald of Wales's remark in his *Itinerarium Cambriae* that: "both the Irish and the Welsh are more prone to anger and revenge in this life than other nations, and similarly their Saints in the next world seem much more vindictive." See Gerald of Wales *Itinerarium Cambriae*, II.7 (Gerald of Wales (Giraldi Cambrensis), *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, 8 vols., Rolls Series 21 (London, 1861–91), vi.130, L. Thorpe, trans., *Gerald of Wales: The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales* (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 189). For further biblical parallels in this incident see L. M. Guimarães aus Salvador, *The Uses of Secular Rulers and Characters in the Welsh Saints' Lives in the Vespasian Legendary* (MS. Cotton Vespasian A. XIV.) (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg, PhD Thesis, 2009), pp. 97–9.

Cadog anything further, and allows him to go forth in the world.¹⁴³ A similar pattern is found in the *Life* of Illtud, who rather than causing a miracle to occur, miraculously survives. A hunting party led by Illtud demanded food from St. Cadog. The request for food being improper, the earth swallows the hunting party. Illtud is the only survivor, and in thanks he leaves the service of King Poulentus to become an ecclesiastic.¹⁴⁴

After the miracle of maturity, the saint goes out in the world to found new churches, undertake pilgrimages and partake in other ‘holy’ activities. This section of Henken’s pattern shall be discussed in more detail later as it is often in this section of the lives that saints visit Rome. However, to give one example, Cadog travels widely, visiting Ireland, Cornwall, Jerusalem and St Andrews before ending his days in Benevento, Italy.¹⁴⁵ Travelling and founding monasteries are often associated with gaining greater power.¹⁴⁶ It is undoubtedly an opportunity to show a saint at their best.

Often a saint comes into contact with a powerful secular opponent.¹⁴⁷ Padarn is threatened by King Maelgwn and his horde, and defeats Maelgwn’s messengers by demonstrating his sanctity.¹⁴⁸ Maelgwn is blinded, seemingly fatally weakened until Padarn forgives him. The

¹⁴³ ‘Vita Sancti Cadoci’, §7 (*VSBG*, pp. 36–41).

¹⁴⁴ ‘Vita Sancti Illuti’, §3 (*VSBG*, pp.196–99). See also Guimarães aus Salvador, *Uses*, p. 94 and pp. 130–1. For further examples see Henken, ‘Saint as Folk Hero’, p. 66.

¹⁴⁵ ‘Vita Sancti Cadoci’, §10 (*VSBG*, pp. 46–9), §31 (*VSBG*, pp. 92–5), §14 (*VSBG*, pp. 54–7), §26 (*VSBG*, pp. 80–5) and §37 (*VSBG*, pp. 102–7). For the Benevento episode see H. D. Emmanuel, ‘Beneventana Civitas’, *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 3 (1953), 54–63, Brooke, ‘St Peter’, pp. 87–9, and G. Goetnick, ‘Lifris and the Italian Connection’, *BBCS* 35 (1988), 10–13. The influence of Lifris’ tale on other hagiographers is discussed in D. N. Dumville, ‘St. Teilo, St. Cadog, and St. Buite in Italy’, *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History* 4 (1987), 1–8.

¹⁴⁶ Henken links this to secular heroes gaining ‘magic powers. Henken, *Welsh Saints*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁷ E. R. Henken, ‘The Saint as Secular Ruler: Aspects of Welsh Hagiography’, *Folklore* 98 (1987), 226–32, at pp. 228–9. Henken elsewhere emphasises that this conflict must occur for the hero to prove himself, to demonstrate that he is worthy of ruling a kingdom. Henken, *Welsh Saints*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Vita Sancti Paterni’, §15–18 (*VSBG*, pp.256–9). See also Guimarães aus Salvador, *Uses*, pp. 198–200. An alternative edition and translation of the *Vita Sancti Paterni* is found in A. C. Thomas and D. R. Howlett, ‘Vita Sancti Paterni: The Life of Saint Padarn and the Original ‘Miniū’’, *Trivium* 33 (2003), at pp. 15–27 and pp. 31–45 respectively. Thomas and Howlett argue that the author of the *Vita Sancti Paterni* was Ieuan ap Sulien, the brother of Rhygyfarch, the author of the *Life* of St. David. They base their case on the vocabulary used by the

King thanks Padarn by giving him control over an area near to modern Llanbadarn; a, none too subtle, claim by the church of Llanbadarn to land.¹⁴⁹ Brynach displays his prowess in more martial fashion, by defeating a beast which had killed many people and animals.¹⁵⁰ St. Elgar's conflict with a secular authority was of a different nature. He had been taken into captivity by pirates as a child, sold as a slave and later forced to serve as the executioner of Ruaidrí Ua Conchobhair (King of Connacht, 1076–92).¹⁵¹ He does this against his will, and survives a shipwreck close to Bardsey Island after his release from servitude because he had completed a suitable penance.

Having established him or herself through miracles, founding new churches and displays of power, the saint is then left to rule over a territory and prepare for death. The latter two stages are exemplified by the *passio* of Clydog from the Book of Llandaff.¹⁵² Clydog was a king who led a devout life. A beautiful woman wanted to marry no one but him, and Clydog was consequently murdered by one of her jealous suitors. We see Clydog already ruling over a territory, but in death he is responsible for many miracles.

Having given a flavour of the saints' lives, let us turn to the concerns expressed in them. An important concern for any church during the medieval period was its prestige. This might be reflected through the patronage a church received, through the number of other churches

author and the likelihood of the text and Rhygyfarch's *Life* having been composed in time for William the Conqueror's visit to St Davids in 1081. The case is not entirely convincing, especially given Sharpe and Davies's revised assessment for the date of Rhygyfarch's text. See *ibid.*, pp. 65–77 and pp. 92–3.

¹⁴⁹ 'Vita Sancti Paterni', §19 (*VSBG*, pp. 258–9) and cf. a similar tale about Cadog in 'Vita Sancti Cadoci', §69 (*VSBG*, pp. 136–41).

¹⁵⁰ 'Vita Sancti Bernachii', §2 (*VSBG*, pp. 2–3). For further examples see Henken, 'The Saint as Folk Hero', pp. 69–70.

¹⁵¹ The events described here all occur in *Vita S. Elgari* §1 (p. 39 and p. 43). See also 'The Life of St. Elgar of Ynys Enlli', pp. 22–3 and Davies, *Book*, pp. 124–5.

¹⁵² 'Vita S. Clitaucci', *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 193–4. On the version of this text in the Vespasian manuscript see Davies, *Book*, p. 124 and Guimarães aus Salvador, *Uses*, pp. 206–10.

under its control or the lands it owned.¹⁵³ This is the background against which we must consider two important incidents, the pilgrimage by St. David and others to Jerusalem and the Synod of Llanddewi Brefi.

According to Rhygyfarch's *Life*, after receiving a message from an angel, St. David travelled first to Rome and then to Jerusalem, accompanied by St. Teilo and St. Padarn.¹⁵⁴ At the beginning of the journey, they are described as "equal" with each other, yet this was soon to change as, after they arrive in Jerusalem, the Patriarch promotes David to be an archbishop. After preaching for a time they decide to return home, but not before the Patriarch gives David four gifts, which are sent separately from the travelling party, to the individual monasteries of those involved. This story aims to establish St. David as superior to his fellow pilgrims, through receiving gifts directly from the Patriarch and elevation to a higher status. This was resisted by the author of *Vita Sancti Paterni*, who states that all three pilgrims were ordained bishops, and that all three received individual gifts.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, in what could be interpreted as an attempt to claim superiority, the author goes so far as to declare that Padarn received two gifts from the Patriarch.¹⁵⁶ Padarn is said to have received both a tunic and a staff from the Patriarch. What is quite possibly the only Welsh language poem to have survived from the eleventh century is a quatrain concerning the powers of Padarn's staff, although it should be noted that the "Cirguen", the poem's subject, is nowhere said to be the patraich's gift.¹⁵⁷ A third version of the story appears in the *Vita S. Teliaui* of the Book of Llandaff.¹⁵⁸ Here angels are sent to all three saints and, when they arrive in Jerusalem, Teilo

¹⁵³ See above, p. 157.

¹⁵⁴ 'Rhygyfarch's *Life* of St. David', §44–§48 (pp.138–41).

¹⁵⁵ The author later defines each bishopric in 'Vita Sancti Paterni', §30 (*VSBG*, pp. 266–7). These are described as "deliberate archaisms" in Thomas and Howlett, 'Life of Saint Padarn', p. 115.

¹⁵⁶ 'Vita Sancti Paterni', §20 (*VSBG*, pp. 258–61).

¹⁵⁷ P. Russell, 'The *englyn* to St Padarn Revisited', *CMCS* 63 (Summer, 2012), 1–14 and I. Williams, 'An Old Welsh Verse', *NLWJ* 2 (1941–42), 69–75.

¹⁵⁸ On this story see Davies, *Book*, pp. 115–16. A version of *Vita S. Teliaui* also appears in the Vespasian manuscript. For comparisons between this version and the version in the Book of Llandaff see *ibid.*, pp. 118–19.

is given the greatest honour by being designated a successor to St. Peter, whilst David must make do with being named successor to St. James.¹⁵⁹ The gifts assigned to each saint are the same as in *Vita Sancti Paterni*.¹⁶⁰ If one were to interpret the individual saints as representing the ecclesiastical establishments to which they had ties (Padarn with Llanbadarn Fawr and Teilo with Llandeilo Fawr), then the story takes on a greater significance. Rhygyfarch, whose family was closely associated with the schools of Llanbadarn Fawr and whose father Sulien was twice Bishop of St Davids (1073–78 and 1080–85), is an unlikely person to have launched an attack on Llanbadarn Fawr.¹⁶¹ He may perhaps have been demonstrating the ‘ancient links’ between Llanbadarn and St Davids. His inclusion of Teilo in the triumvirate is another matter entirely. Teilo is a saint who is closely associated with the church of Llandaff, which was in constant competition with the church of St Davids for primacy in Wales.¹⁶² This attack on Llandaff is made all the clearer when considering the description of the Synod of Llanddewi Brefi.

This synod, it is related, was called in response to the reviving Pelagian heresy. The multitudes gathered, but there were so many people, that no preacher could be heard. St. David was summoned and, after reviving a dead boy on the way, caused a hill to rise so that all could hear him preach. David was then confirmed as archbishop by the synod and a subsequent synod, and continued in his role until his death aged 147.¹⁶³ The identities of the two messengers sent to David are important here, as they are named as Deiniol and Dyfrig.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ ‘Vita S. Teliaui’, *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 103 and p. 106.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

¹⁶¹ On Rhygyfarch’s connections with Llanbadarn Fawr and the intellectual background of Sulien’s family, see N. K. Chadwick, ‘Intellectual Life in West Wales in the Last Days of the Celtic Church’ in N. K. Chadwick, ed., *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 121–82, at pp. 162–73, J. E. Lloyd, ‘Bishop Sulien and his Family’, *NLWJ* 2 (1941–2), 1–6 and M. Lapidge, ‘The Welsh-Latin Poetry of Sulien’s Family’, *SC* 8/9 (1973–74), 68–106, especially pp. 68–76.

¹⁶² Henken, ‘Welsh hagiography’, p. 36 and p. 38.

¹⁶³ ‘Rhygyfarch’s *Life* of St. David’, §49–§58 (pp. 142–9). On the multiple times David is promoted to be an archbishop in Rhigyfrach’s text, see Chadwick, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 143–4.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, § 50 (pp. 142–3).

Here, Deiniol represents the church of Bangor, whilst Dyfrig represents Llandaff.¹⁶⁵ Davies thus suggests that Deiniol represents north-west Wales, whilst Dyfrig represents the south-east.¹⁶⁶ Again, we see David being served by two other saints. If we accept Davies's suggestion about the symbolism behind the naming of these particular saints, we see a claim for an even wider jurisdiction for the church of St Davids.

The promotion of David at the synod drew a response in the *Life* of St. Cadog.¹⁶⁷ In what Emanuel suggested are two interpolated passages into Lifris' original text, Cadog's absence from the synod is explained.¹⁶⁸ When an angel is sent to St. David urging him to call a synod, David protests that Cadog is more worthy than he to lead it.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, Cadog is away on pilgrimage in Jerusalem at the time of the synod, so he could not possibly have attended.¹⁷⁰ When Cadog returns, after his disciples summon the courage to tell him about the synod, only an angel can placate his anger. As a reward for forgiving David for the 'affront' of not inviting Cadog, the Angel tells him of the innumerable souls which will be saved on judgment day because of Cadog's actions.¹⁷¹ These passages portray St. David as having played a dirty trick, given Cadog was away on pilgrimage in the holiest of places. The final passage indicates that Cadog's success will be eternal, whilst David's is temporal.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵ Henken, 'Welsh hagiography', p. 35. Chadwick 'Intellectual Life', pp. 144–5. Chadwick also refers to a tradition linking Deiniol (her Daniel) to Pembroke. The Book of Llandaff makes Dyfrig of central importance to its claim of primacy in Wales through the text *De primo statu Landauensis ecclesiae*. See 'De primo statu Landauensis ecclesiae', *Book of Llan Dâv*, pp. 68–71, Davies, 'Saints of South Wales', p. 372 and id., *Book*, pp. 110–11.

¹⁶⁶ Davies, 'Saints of South Wales', p. 371 and id., *Book*, pp. 86–7.

¹⁶⁷ Based on internal textual evidence, this text was seemingly composed c. 1090. Its authorship is attributed to Lifris of Llancarfan, the son of Bishop Herewald of Llandaff (1056–1104). See H. D. Emanuel, 'An Analysis of the Composition of the 'Vita Cadoci'', *NLWJ* 7 (1951–52), 217–227 at p. 217 and n. 1 (p. 227), Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum*, p. x and Davies, 'Saints of South Wales', p. 380.

¹⁶⁸ Emanuel refers to §13 and §17 in the *Life*. Emanuel, 'Analysis', pp 220–2.

¹⁶⁹ 'Vita Sancti Cadoci', §13 (*VSBG*, pp. 54–5).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., §14 (pp. 54–7).

¹⁷¹ Ibid., §17 (pp. 60–3).

¹⁷² David's status as bishop or archbishop is never mentioned in the text.

There was a clear, political purpose for writing these lives. The rivalry between St Davids and Llandaff is abundantly clear in the passages cited. This political dimension must be borne in mind when considering the saints' journeys to Rome. Let us now return to the travel section of Henken's model for Welsh saints' lives.

The saints travel a great deal in the texts. One of their motivations is education. St. Beuno journeyed from the kingdom of Powys to Caerwent, Monmouthshire, to be educated by St. Tangusius.¹⁷³ St. Cadog journeyed to Ireland to deepen his knowledge, and on his return to Wales arranged to study in Brycheiniog with the rhetorician Bachan, who had himself recently returned from studying on the continent.¹⁷⁴ In the same spirit as Bachan, St. Brynach is said to have travelled to Rome to live and study, and is the only Welsh saint to do so.¹⁷⁵ This might be an indication that Rome was considered a centre of learning, but the number of saints who studied closer to home indicates that receiving an education was in and of itself remarkable enough. The desire for self-improvement shows them in a positive light, firstly by establishing that the knowledge each saint possessed was learned from a reliable source and secondly that each was willing to go to some length to secure an excellent education. The teaching of each of these saints could therefore be relied upon. This served to enhance their reputation.

Travel could also be used to emphasise how well connected the saints were. St. Beuno visits a very prominent Welsh saint, St Tysilio, at his centre in Meifod, whilst St. Illtud's connections to the monastery of Dol in Brittany are emphasised in his life.¹⁷⁶ St. Euddogwy travelled to

¹⁷³ 'Hystoria o Uched Beuno', §3 (*VSBG*, p. 16 and p. 337).

¹⁷⁴ 'Vita Sancti Cadoci', §10 and §11 (*VSBG*, pp. 46–9).

¹⁷⁵ 'Vita Sancti Bernachii', §1–§2 (*VSBG*, pp. 2–5).

¹⁷⁶ 'Hystoria o Uched Beuno', §9 (*VSBG*, p. 17 and p. 339), 'Vita Sancti Illtuti', §15 and §24 (*VSBG*, pp. 214–15 and pp. 226–9).

Rome to be consecrated bishop.¹⁷⁷ This emphasised both his orthodoxy and his connection to the papacy.¹⁷⁸

The sheer number of other Saints' travels serves to emphasise their virtues; St. Cadog and St. Cybi in particular travel widely.¹⁷⁹ Another way of demonstrating a saint's wide-reaching associations was to show them doing good deeds on their travels. St. Padarn, for instance, is shown bringing peace to Ireland.¹⁸⁰ Cadog and Brynach, travelling respectively in Scotland and the Roman countryside, defeat monsters.¹⁸¹ These features serve to demonstrate a Saint's influence: the more wide-ranging, the better for the cult.

Pilgrimage, and through pilgrimage demonstrating a saint's piety, is another reason for saints' travel.¹⁸² There are some examples of local pilgrimage- St Cybi visits St Davids for instance- but there are more numerous examples of longer distance travel.¹⁸³ These are to the two most important destinations of all Christendom, Rome and Jerusalem. As Webb noted, "Pilgrimages to the very greatest shrines... tended to be associated with the quest for a special devotional experience."¹⁸⁴ This was certainly the case for St Cybi and St Gwenffrewi. Cybi travels to Jerusalem specifically to worship at Christ's sepulchre.¹⁸⁵ Gwenffrewi, a

¹⁷⁷ 'Vita S. Oudocei', *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 135.

¹⁷⁸ The life sought to emphasise that Euddogwy was consecrated in the tradition of Dyfrig and Teilo, the senior saints associated with Llandaff. On the development of Euddogwy's cult see Davies, 'Saints of South Wales', pp. 390–1.

¹⁷⁹ For some of Cadog's travels see above, p. 161, n. 145 and for the journeys of Cybi see 'Vita Sancti Kebii', §2–16 (*VSBG*, pp. 234–45). A detailed, though dated, account of St. Cybi's travels is found in G. H. Doble, with C. G. Henderson, *S. Cuby (Cybi), A Celtic Saint*, Cornish Saints Series 22 (Shipston-on-Stour, 1929), pp. 12–30.

¹⁸⁰ 'Vita Sancti Paterni', §9–10 (*VSBG*, pp. 254–7).

¹⁸¹ 'Vita Sancti Cadoci', §26 (*VSBG*, pp. 82–5) and 'Vita Sancti Bernachii', §2 (*VSBG*, pp. 2–3).

¹⁸² On the importance of pilgrimage see Lewis, *Medieval Welsh Poems*, p. 5 and W. Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 182–3.

¹⁸³ 'Vita Sancti Kebii', §8 (*VSBG*, pp. 238–9).

¹⁸⁴ D. Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. xiii.

¹⁸⁵ 'Vita Sancti Kebii', §3 (*VSBG*, pp. 234–5).

virgin decapitated by a lustful prince whose advances she rejected, travels to Rome, after her resurrection, to “visit the sites of the holy apostles” and devote herself entirely to God.¹⁸⁶

The piety of Cybi and Gwenffrewi is obvious in these instances, and piety is certainly one aspect of the pilgrimages undertaken by David and Cadog. The piety of each is emphasised in a different manner. St. David was directed to undertake pilgrimage to Jerusalem by an Angel.¹⁸⁷ St Cadog is claimed to have visited Jerusalem three times and Rome seven times.¹⁸⁸ On one journey Cadog travelled first to Rome, then Jerusalem before finally visiting the river Jordan to gather water for a well he had previously created in Cornwall.¹⁸⁹ Rhygyfarch’s *Life*, further mentions St. Bairre staying with David on his return from Rome, having visited the shrines of St. Peter and St. Paul.¹⁹⁰ Ó Riain explains the importance of this incident by highlighting Bairre’s first deed after visiting Rome. In other words “not only could the choice of St David’s as Bairre’s destination among the churches of Wales be taken as recognition of its primatial position, the Cork saint’s prior communion with Rome could also be regarded as proof of contacts enjoyed by the clergy of St David’s with the papacy since time immemorial.”¹⁹¹ A similar event is recorded in the Life of St. Samson of Dol from the Book of Llandaff, where learned pilgrims returning from Rome arrive at Samson’s monastery. Having received permission from Bishop Dyfrig to journey with them to their own lands, Samson performs miracles there before returning to his monastery. Ó Riain’s views seem apt

¹⁸⁶ ‘Vita Sancte Wenefrede’, §9–§15 and §18 (*VSBG*, pp. 290–5). On Gwenffrewi’s chastity and the role of her killer see Henken, *Welsh Saints*, pp. 6–8 and Winward, ‘Lives’, pp. 105–8. On the derivation of the journey to Rome from the lost Latin Life of Beuno see *ibid.*, pp. 123–4.

¹⁸⁷ See above, p. 164, n. 154.

¹⁸⁸ The assertion regarding the number of visits is made twice in the text in ‘Vita Sancti Cadoci’, §26 and §27 (*VSBG*, pp. 80–1 and pp. 86–7) The journeys to Rome are *ibid.*, §32 (*VSBG*, pp. 94–5) when a visit to the river Jordan is preceded by a visit to Rome, and in *ibid.* §35 (*VSBG*, pp. 96–9), when Cadog builds a church in Armorica.

¹⁸⁹ ‘Vita Sancti Cadoci’, §32 (*VSBG*, pp. 94–5).

¹⁹⁰ Sharpe and Davies, ‘Rhygyfarch’s *Life* of St. David’, §39 (pp. 134–5). For Rhygyfarch’s references to Irish clergymen in the text, see Chadwick, ‘Intellectual Life’, pp. 140–3.

¹⁹¹ P. Ó Riain, ‘Hagiography without Frontiers: Borrowing of Saints across the Irish Sea’ in D. Walz, ed., *Scripturus Vitam* (Heidelberg, 2002), pp. 41–8, at p. 44.

for the learned pilgrims' visit as well.¹⁹² These references reinforce the idea that Rome was considered a suitable destination for saints' pilgrimages.

It is interesting to note in this context a description of Bardsey Island in the *Vita S. Elgari*, repeated in the *Vita S. Dubrici* and again with some variety in Benedict of Gloucester's *Vita Sancti Dubricii*. The island is described as the "Rome of Britain" because of the arduous nature and length of the journey to the island and because it holds the bodies of 20,000 saints.¹⁹³ Jankulak and Wooding see this as an attempt by the church of Llandaff to counter a grant by Calixtus II to St Davids that two pilgrimages to south-west Wales were the spiritual equivalent of two pilgrimages to Rome.¹⁹⁴ They state: "The *Vita* implies that one visit to Enlli is implicitly worth two to St Davids."¹⁹⁵ This seems an unnecessary interpretation as the work of combating the claims of St Davids takes place in the interview between Caradog and St. Elgar in this work. It seems preferable to understand the comparison with Rome firstly as a compliment to Bardsey and secondly as an explanation of the attractions of both pilgrimage destinations. Though the journey to either place was arduous, it was worthwhile to be in the company of the relics of holy men and women.

The final references to Rome in the saints' lives are aimed at enhancing the status of the subject by association with Rome. In the *Vita S. Oudocei* we are told that the church of

¹⁹² 'Vita S. Samsonis', *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 15.

¹⁹³ In *Vita S. Elgari*, Bardsey is *quae more britannico uocatur Roma Britanniae*, with the *Vita S. Dubricii* embellishing the description as *antiquitus et inproverbio*. Benedict of Gloucester's text reads *antiquitus Roma Brittannice nominabatur*. *Vita S. Elgari* §2 (p. 39 and p. 43), 'Vita S. Dubricii', *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 83 and 'Benedict of Gloucester's *Vita Sancti Dubricii*', §23 (pp.94–5). Pryce, following Thomas, notes that this phrase may be an echo of an Irish word "rúam" (cemetery). H. Pryce, 'Pastoral care in early medieval Wales' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe, eds., *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 41–62, p. 60 and references. For comparison with Ireland see E. Bhreathnach, 'Ynys Enlli: The Representation of Medieval Pilgrim Destinations', in J. M. Wooding, ed., *Solitaries, Pastors and 20,000 Saints: Studies in the Religious History of Bardsey Island (Ynys Enlli)*, *Trivium* 39 (2010), 1–14, at pp. 1–6.

¹⁹⁴ See Chapter 2, p. 65, n. 86.

¹⁹⁵ 'The Life of St Elgar of Enlli', p. 32.

Llandaff is the Rome of southern Wales as it exceeds all other churches in dignity.¹⁹⁶ The deeds of St. Carannog are read in Ireland as are the acts of St. Peter in Rome.¹⁹⁷ This comparison with the chief apostle is clearly aimed at boosting St. Carannog's reputation. The same might be said of an incident in the *Life* of St. Cadog. Gildas, travelling to Rome with an Irish hand bell for the Pope, stays in Cadog's monastery overnight. Having heard the bell's melodic sound, Cadog greatly desired the bell but Gildas refused to sell it to him. When Gildas presents the bell to the Pope, named as Alexander, the bell refuses to chime. Upon hearing a little of the history of the bell, the Pope praised Cadog, blesses the bell and commands Gildas to return it to Llancarfan.¹⁹⁸ Cadog is thus shown to be superior to Gildas, receives the Pope's praise personally and an item blessed by him.¹⁹⁹ As with St. Carannog, the prestige of Cadog is enhanced.

We have now examined all the references to Rome in saints' lives, but one curious question remains: why does Rhygyfarch show David journeying to Jerusalem rather than to Rome to be consecrated? If Rome's "ultimate authority over the Church in Wales was recognized" in the eleventh century, why does David not travel to the Holy See to become an archbishop?²⁰⁰ Two possible explanations present themselves.

¹⁹⁶ *Et sicut romana ecclesia excedit dignitatem omnium ecclesiarum catholice fidei ita ecclesia illa landauiā excedat omnes ecclesias totius dextralis brittanie insignitate et in priuilegio et in excellentia.* 'Vita S. Oudocei', *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 133. It is difficult to translate *dextralis brittanie*. It could be translated as "southern Britain", though comparison with other Cambro-Latin texts of this period could lead to a translation of "southern Wales." See *VSBG*, p. vii, n.1 and see also H. Pryce, 'British or Welsh? National Identity in Twelfth-Century Wales', *EHR* 116 (2001), 775–801, at pp. 777–8.

¹⁹⁷ 'Vita Sancti Carantoci', §2 (*VSBG*, pp. 142–3). On the cult of Carannog see Jankulak, 'Carantoc *alias* Cairnech?', pp. 116–48.

¹⁹⁸ 'Vita Sancti Cadoci', §27 (*VSBG*, pp. 84–7).

¹⁹⁹ Rhygyfarch also shows David to be superior to Gildas by having him unable to preach when David's pregnant mother is in the same room as him. See above, p. 161, n. 138. For the rivalry between Gildas and David see D. N. Dumville, *Saint David of Wales*, Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lectures on Mediaeval Welsh History 1 (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 11–22 and pp. 40–1.

²⁰⁰ *AoC*, p. 191.

The first is that Rhygyfarch was reporting a tradition which sought to link St Davids to the place of Christ's death rather than the burial place of St. Peter and St. Paul.²⁰¹ He attempted to link his subject matter to a higher spiritual power. The second argument is a similar one, and was first advanced by G. H. Doble. He argued that Rhygyfarch included the tale to demonstrate St Davids independence from Canterbury, further linking the idea of journey to Jerusalem with the First Crusade.²⁰² The revised date of composition for Rhygyfarch's text makes a link between the text and the First Crusade impossible, although Doble's first suggestion still has some currency. It was a central part of J. W. James' argument for the composition of Rhygyfarch's text in 1093x1095, suggesting that it was in response to Anselm of Canterbury's demand for professions of obedience from Welsh bishops.²⁰³ Both arguments have some validity, but neither can be proved beyond reasonable doubt.

What one can say is that this tale caused much embarrassment to the church of St Davids during its struggle for recognition of its metropolitan status. In its appeals to the papacy during the twelfth century, it does not mention the tale at all.²⁰⁴ Although, he included the tale in his *Life of St David*, Gerald of Wales did not include this text in the selection of works he presented to Innocent III in 1199.²⁰⁵ Gerald did not wish to prejudice his case by appearing in any way unorthodox.²⁰⁶ In this context, perhaps the consecration of Euddogwy in Rome should be understood as a direct challenge to St Davids, contrasting the orthodoxy of

²⁰¹ I thank Dr. Alex Woolf for suggesting this to me.

²⁰² G. H. Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, ed. D. S. Evans (Cardiff 1971, 1984), p. 176.

²⁰³ J. W. James, ed. and trans., *Rhygyfarch's Life of St. David* (Cardiff, 1967), p. xi.

²⁰⁴ Chadwick, 'Intellectual Life', pp. 145–6 and pp. 151–2.

²⁰⁵ See Chapter 1, p. 41 n. 203. For the tale in Gerald's version see Gerald of Wales, *De Vita S. Davidis Archiepiscopi Menevensis*, VII (GCO, iii.397–9). Gerald seems to have based his text on the 'Nero' recension of Rhygyfarch's life. See James, *Rhygyfarch's Life*, p. xiii and M. Richter, 'The *Life of St. David* by Giraldus Cambrensis', *WHR* 4 (1968–69), 381–6 at pp. 385–6.

²⁰⁶ We might compare Gerald's decision not to take his *Life* with him to his decision to exclude Rhygyfarch's description of David's monastic order from his text. See R. Bartlett, 'Rewriting Saints' Lives: The Case of Gerald of Wales', *Speculum* 58 (1983), 598–613, at p. 604.

Llandaff's saints and bishops with the oddity of David's consecration in Jerusalem.²⁰⁷ By the time Rhygyfarch's text was translated into Middle Welsh, David is made an archbishop in Rome.²⁰⁸ As Chadwick says, in the years after Rhygyfarch, the tendency "is to stress the Roman and Catholic elements in the history of the church of St Davids, and in the career of the saint himself."²⁰⁹

This last point is in itself instructive. In later years, there was a growing knowledge of the Church of Rome's importance which was not reflected in the earlier saints' lives. In these it is clear that Rome was a suitable pilgrimage destination, but not the only one. Association with the city was a way of demonstrating piety but it was not the only way. Rome clearly held symbolic significance but the relatively few references to the city and the little information presented about it demonstrates a lack of knowledge amongst the hagiographers.

²⁰⁷ See above, p. 164, n. 154.

²⁰⁸ The text is edited in D. S. Evans, ed., *The Welsh Life of St David* (Cardiff, 1988). The earliest manuscript copy of it is Jesus College Oxford MS 119, more commonly known as 'The Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewi Brefi', a manuscript dated to 1346. It is almost certainly based on Rhygyfarch's *Life* and is likely to have been translated prior to the date contained on the manuscript, and possibly before the end of the thirteenth century. See Evans, *Welsh Life*, pp. liii–liv and pp. lvi–lvii. See also Chadwick, 'Intellectual Life', pp. 146–7. David is made Archbishop at Evans, *Welsh Life*, p. 9.

²⁰⁹ Chadwick, 'Intellectual Life', p. 152.

CONCLUSION

We have seen through consideration of the evidence presented by the works of Gerald of Wales, documents produced in the papacy's name and a variety of Welsh sources that the assessment of the changes in the relationship between Wales and the papacy by R. R. Davies and Glanmor Williams is largely accurate. Welsh chronicles support their assessment of Rome as a distant pilgrimage site before the twelfth century. Equally, beyond the changing of the date of Easter to the Roman practice and the possible visit of the legate Theophylact during the time of Offa, there is no hint of papal authority "impinging" in any way on Wales. Although the Welsh Church had maintained some links with the continent, some of its practices were outmoded by contemporary standards. The self-governing collegiate *clas* churches had become secularised by the end of the eleventh century, and many churches had fallen under hereditary control, perhaps most famously those of Sulien at Llanbadarn Fawr and Herewald at Llancarfan.¹ Attitudes began to change under Norman influence. The Normans saw control of the Church as a corollary to political conquest, but also felt a moral obligation to reform the Welsh Church to contemporary standards.² Parishes, developing from the *parochiae* of *clas* churches, became formal, administrative territorial units as did, eventually, the four Welsh dioceses.³ The latter process brought the Welsh Church into far closer contact with the papacy.

¹ T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 602–14 and pp. 648–50, H. Pryce, 'Pastoral care in early medieval Wales' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe, eds., *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 41–62, at p. 49, W. Davies, 'The Myth of the Celtic Church', in N. Edwards, and A. Lane, eds., *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, Oxbow Monograph 13 (Oxford, 1992), pp. 12–21, at p. 16, J. C. Davies, ed., *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066–1272*, 2 vols. (Cardiff, 1946–48), pp. 493–537 and M. Lapidge, 'The Welsh-Latin Poetry of Sulien's Family', *SC* 8/9 (1973–4), 68–106.

² R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford, 2000), p. 179 and see also J. R. Davies, 'The cult of saints in the early Welsh March: aspects of cultural transmission in a time of political conflict' in S. Duffy and S. Foran, eds., *The English Isles: cultural transmission and political conflict in Britain and Ireland, 1100–1500* (Dublin, 2013), 37–55.

³ D. Petts, *The Early Medieval Church in Wales* (Stroud, 2009), pp. 187–91, J. C. Davies, ed., *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to Welsh Dioceses 1066–1272*, 2 vols. (Cardiff, 1946–48), pp. pp. 49–54 and cf. P. Górecki, *Parishes, Tithes, and Society in Earlier Medieval Poland, ca. 1100–1250* (Philadelphia, 1993).

The recognition of the papacy's jurisdiction took place much as Davies described in the case of ecclesiastical institutions, as can be seen from the activities of Bishop Urban of Llandaff and Bishop Bernard of St Davids. Both came from a reformed background: Urban was educated at Worcester and Bernard had been chancellor to Queen Matilda. Their appeals were the first of many for assistance and approval by the papacy from Welsh sees. Gerald of Wales, educated in mainstream contemporary thought, certainly recognised papal authority. He valued the power given to him by papal decree and recognised the papacy as a recourse. These twin tracks of accepting instruction and seeking papal support were hallmarks of the relationship between Welsh ecclesiastics and the papacy throughout the thirteenth century. We see this in appeals for confirmation of possession of lands or the permission granted for two Bishops of Bangor to retire allied with a willingness to conduct investigations or perform tasks on the papacy's behalf. These instances certainly support the case for the Welsh Church conforming to international standards.

Papal jurisdiction did not make itself felt in secular Wales until the second half of the twelfth century. Beyond recording pilgrimages to Rome by lay rulers, and perhaps the letter from Owain Gwynedd and his brother Cadwaladr in support of Bernard of St Davids' attempt to raise his see to Metropolitan status, there is no evidence of any contact between secular Welshmen and the papacy. Even then, Owain Gwynedd felt that he could ignore Alexander III's instructions about his marriage to his first cousin. This attitude had begun to change when the Lord Rhys, or perhaps his officials, recognised the papacy as a source of authority in the Latin phrases employed in Rhys's charter for Strata Florida. Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and his descendants recognised papal jurisdiction in their appeals. He sought permission for a marriage and later recognition for his inheritance strategy. His son Dafydd attempted to defend his polity by appeals to Innocent IV. Similarly, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd looked to the

papacy to settle the disputes with Edward I which eventually led to the war of 1276–77. We might well consider these events as examples of Welsh rulers becoming increasingly similar to their European neighbours.

At the same time, we see the papacy's importance recognised in Welsh sources. From the twelfth century onwards, the chronicles, reflecting the monastic setting in which they were composed, take a much more active interest in papal affairs. Charters and agreements use the papacy as a guarantor, thus recognising it as a source of authority. The papacy's power is likewise recognised by the Welsh lawbooks of the thirteenth century, the praise poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the saints' lives of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

This is not to say that knowledge of Rome was ubiquitous or detailed. Naturally far more attention is given in the chronicles to affairs at hand. Rome is somewhere far away for the poets, with only Meilyr Brydydd and the anonymous poem from the Black Book of Carmarthen referring to Rome in a devotional context. The city is only one of many pilgrimage destinations for the saints and when they go, only Gwenffrewi visits the tombs of the Apostles and martyrs. There is little evidence beyond Gerald of Wales's remarks on the number of Welsh pilgrims in Rome testifying to the popular appeal of Rome and the papacy.

It is interesting to consider why the change in Welsh attitudes occurred. Almost all the available evidence derives from the twelfth century onwards and most of it from the thirteenth century. This might mean that evidence for contact from earlier centuries does not survive. The age of the surviving evidence also points to greater papal assertiveness following the reforms of the eleventh century and especially following the expansion of

activity during the pontificate of Innocent III. There was greater opportunity for evidence to survive under these circumstances.

This being said, it is important to note that similar changes in attitude were occurring elsewhere at around the same time. Scottish contacts with the papacy developed at a remarkably similar pace to those in Wales.⁴ At the beginning of the twelfth century, direct contact between Scotland and the papacy was rare but by the final decades of the thirteenth century recourse to the papal Curia by Scots, and direction to them from Rome, had become regular occurrences.⁵ This change was in part driven by the papacy's desire to make good their claim to primacy over the western Church, partly by an increasingly efficient bureaucracy at the Curia but also as a response to petitioners and litigants seeking to submit themselves to the papacy's independent jurisdiction.⁶

The change may in part be due to pressures to conform. Under pressure from Church reformers Welsh ecclesiastics had to conform to be accepted. This was not a dissimilar experience to those of churchmen in Scotland, where reform came about from "a desire to conform with the value and ideals of the western church and to receive the blessing of its head, the papacy."⁷ The same desire to conform also began the process of reform at a local

⁴ This is not to say that the relationship was the same. One may point to the issuing of *Cum universi* and the existence of a strong Scottish monarchy as significant factors in the difference between the Welsh and Scottish experiences. R. Oram, *Domination and Lordship Scotland 1070–1230*, New Edinburgh History of Scotland 3 (Edinburgh, 2011), pp. 334–45 and P. C. Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland: Legates, Nuncios and Judges-Delegate 1125–1286*, Stair Society 45 (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 191–203.

⁵ Idem., p. 2.

⁶ Idem., p. 10 and A. Perron, 'The bishops of Rome, 1100–1300', in M. Rubin and W. Simons, eds., *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100–c. 1500* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 22–38, pp. 25–7.

⁷ M. Brown, *The Wars of Scotland 1214–1371*, New Edinburgh History of Scotland 4 (Edinburgh, 2004), p. 122 and see also Ibid. pp. 122–7.

level in Ireland.⁸ Welsh princes were expected to conform to and indeed sought to emulate the standards of England's nobility. Another explanation might simply be that both ecclesiastical institutions and polities looked to an institution which might be able to assist them. Ecclesiastical institutions could settle their problems with assistance from an impeccable authority. The papacy gave Llywelyn ap Iorwerth the opportunity to fortify himself against charges of impropriety regarding his proposed marriage and allowed him to overcome his subjects' resistance to changing the law with regards to Dafydd's succession. In the case of Dafydd ap Llywelyn and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd the papacy was a means of attempting to circumvent the royal government.

With the papacy willing to exert its influence following the reforms of the eleventh century, the dispute between St Davids and Llandaff was an excellent opportunity to become involved in the affairs of two barely known dioceses. The discussion of Welsh affairs from a distance continued throughout the period under consideration (as witnessed by the appeals of Gerald of Wales and the appeals for the release of Eleanor de Montfort from captivity), but the papacy also became directly involved in Welsh affairs through the visits of papal legations. Each legate appointed to England during the thirteenth century had some involvement in Welsh affairs. Four men involved in these legations would become Pope themselves, and two of these, Clement IV and Gregory X, used the knowledge earned whilst undertaking legatine work in their own involvement with Welsh affairs: Clement IV in the terms of address chosen for his successor legate Ottobuono (later Adrian V) and Gregory X in his sensitive responses to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's letters.⁹ This is not to suggest that the papacy obtained any "institutional memories" through its involvement in Welsh affairs. Defective knowledge was

⁸ M. T. Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries*, Studies in Celtic History 29 (Woodbridge, 2010), especially her summary at pp. 243–8, and see also D. Ó Corráin, *The Irish Church, its Reform and the English Invasion*, Trinity Medieval Ireland Series 2 (Dublin, 2017).

⁹ The other future Pope was Boniface VIII (1294–1303), who served in Ottobuono's legation.

clearly to the fore in the case of Dafydd ap Llywelyn's appeal regarding Henry III, and even though Innocent III dealt with both Gerald of Wales and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, he had to reissue letters of interdict on England as he had omitted any mention of Wales in his first letter. Closer involvement with the papacy was a mark of integration with mainstream Europe for Welsh churchmen and nobility. Welsh affairs were no more than occasional problems for the papacy.

Much work remains to be undertaken to further our understanding of Wales and the papacy before the Edwardian conquest. This work has not for instance described fully the work of papal legates in Wales or given full consideration to the papacy's financial demands and what they might tell us about the Welsh economy. Further attention might have been paid to the papacy's development during the period and how this might have affected its dealings with Welsh politics and ecclesiastics, although the study might be of interest to historians of the papacy as a case study. It has hopefully contributed to the understanding of how the Welsh Church developed through contacts outside the British Isles in this period. It might also add to our knowledge of the Welsh princes' diplomatic activities.

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